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PRAMĀṆA

BY

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The word *pramāṇa* comes from the root *mā* 'to measure' and signifies 'that by which we measure' or 'the means of measurement'¹. This etymology gives us a clue to the aim of *pramāṇas* as understood in Indian philosophy. It is the measuring or testing the correctness of knowledge. It implies that the scope for *pramāṇa* arises when a thing is known but its knowledge is still uncertain². The same also appears to be indicated by the well-known maxim *Lakṣaṇa-pramāṇābhyāṃ hi vastu-siddhiḥ* which means that, for anything to be completely established, description and investigation are both necessary³. In holding this view of *pramāṇas*, Indian philosophy, according to Prof. Deussen, exhibits kinship with modern philosophy which also sets itself the task of critically examining the store of knowledge that is already in us.

We shall discover the probable reason why the ancient Indian took such a view of *pramāṇas*, if we remember the state of things at the time when they first came to be formally investigated. Words derived from *pra + mā* are quite rare in Vedic literature; and where they occur⁴, they seem to bear no logical significance. The term *pramāṇa* itself is, no doubt, used clearly with that significance in the *Maitrī Upaniṣad*⁵; but as the section

1. See Deussen: *System of Vedānta*, p. 88.

2. *Nānupalabdhe na nirṇāte nyāyah pravartate: Nyāya-sūtra-bhāṣya*, I. i, 1.

3. Quoted, for example, in the *Jaiminiya-nyāya-mālā-vistara*, I. i, 2. Others add probability (*sambhāvana*) as a third condition, so that the existence of the thing in question should be credible before we can examine whether it is. See *Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṃgraha* (p. 25).

4. As e.g. in the *Atharva-veda* (X. vii, 32): *Yasya (i.e. of Skambha) bhūmih pramā antarikṣam utodaram*.

5. VI. 14. The two or three other *Upaniṣads*, like the *Kālāgni-rudra Upaniṣad*, in which the word occurs, are still later.

where it occurs, if not the whole Upaniṣad, only nominally belongs to Vedic literature, we may conclude that *pramāṇa* as a logical concept came into vogue after the Vedic period. Now we know that the topic of *pramāṇas* was prominently discussed in India at the time of the Greek invasion¹; and we may therefore fix the date of their first formulation early in the post-Vedic period. Let us consider what the circumstances prevalent then were. The Vedic period had closed and the whole of the complex orthodox tradition handed down from that period was challenging, so to say, examination. There had also grown up, as the history of Indian philosophy shows, a mass of heterodox thought which, as the result of independent thinking in different circles, exhibited a good deal of diversity². Philosophy had thus for the most part become a matter of conflicting tradition, and the chief function of *pramāṇas* was naturally conceived as scrutinising this tradition. The importance attached to *śabda* in the sense of 'tradition' or 'revelation' (whether regarded as an independent *pramāṇa* or not), which is a unique feature of Indian thought, seems to lend colour to such a view.

From this account of the origin of *pramāṇas*, we should not assume that the Indian systems of philosophy, which all emerged after the Vedic period, are merely the result of organising the beliefs that had come down from the past and are not the outcome of an independent investigation of the nature of reality. But the consideration of this question will take us away from our subject. So we shall proceed to find out whether *pramāṇas* serve any purpose, other than investigation or scrutiny. Vātsyāyana, in his commentary on the first aphorism of Gautama, defines the distinctive feature of philosophy, as understood by him, as *pramāṇaiḥ artha-parikṣaṇam* or the examination of the data of experience by means of *pramāṇas*. This definition, at first sight, seems entirely to support the view stated above, that the *pramāṇas* in general are means of scrutiny. But, according to Vācaspati³, the word *pramāṇaiḥ* here is to be understood as signifying not all the *pramāṇas* but only one of them, *viz.*, reasoning or 'the five-membered syllogism', as he puts it. That the restriction of this function of investigation to but one of the

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 421.

2. See the present writer's *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 43-4.

3. *Tātparya-ṭīkā*, p. 42. (Benares Edition, 1925).

pramāṇas does not overstep the intention of Vātsyāyana is shown not only by what he says regarding the category of *avayava* further on in his commentary on the same aphorism, but also by what he adds in the course of elucidating the statement cited above: *Pratyakṣāgamaiḥ ikṣitasya anvīkṣaṇam anvīkṣā; tayā pravartata ityānvīkṣikī*. That is, the purpose of philosophy consists in a reviewing or rational consideration of the data of perception and verbal testimony. If it be so, two of the three *pramāṇas* commonly recognised by Indian logicians, *viz.*, perception and verbal testimony, are to be regarded as *sources* of knowledge, and the third, *viz.*, inference alone as the means of appraising its logical worth. Here we find recognised a second purpose of *pramāṇas* of which there is no indication in the etymological meaning of that term. A *pramāṇa* may *scrutinise* what is already known, but is not known for certain; it may also *reveal* the existence and nature of things not hitherto known at all. But, from what we have stated so far, it seems that no *pramāṇa* can do both.

This division of the *pramāṇas* into two groups, each with its own distinctive purpose, cannot, however, be the final truth about them. For experience shows us that there is no such demarcation between them. Thus perception and verbal testimony can very well aid investigation. The former, for example, may be the means of verification as when an object apprehended by the organ of sight is tested by means of touch, or when a doubt arising in respect of something inferred is cleared by actual observation. Inference again may bring to light facts previously unknown, since in all genuine forms of it the conclusion reached, in one form or other, goes beyond the premises and does not merely reassert what is already contained in them taken separately. In view of this fact, we have to modify our interpretation of Vātsyāyana's statement that inference is the sole means of investigation. As Uddyotakāra suggests¹ and as Vātsyāyana himself shows by the use of the word *nyāya* in this connection, we have to understand from 'reasoning' or 'inference' here not a process of convincing oneself of the truth of anything (*svārthānumāna*) when in doubt but that of formally demonstrating it to others (*parārthānumāna*). Such demonstration necessarily involves the expression of the reasoning process as a five-membered syllogism, especially when the topic in question is a metaphysical

1. *Nyāya-vārtika* (Benares Edition) pp. 13 and 17.

one; and it is for this reason that Vātsyāyana refers to inference alone in this connection, and not because he thinks that the other *pramāṇas* can never be instruments of investigation. In fact, he recognises the need for them even in the case of this form of inference, though only as auxiliaries to it. For instance, there would be little chance of convincing another of any truth, if there were no *dṛṣṭānta* or 'example', which depends upon perception and forms the basis of the third (*udāharaṇa*) of the five members of the Indian syllogism. We may accordingly say that all *pramāṇas* serve a twofold purpose. They may be sources of knowledge as well as means of scrutiny; and this duality of function naturally renders their conception ambiguous.

There is another ambiguity affecting the same conception which also needs to be noticed here. We have seen that a *pramāṇa* may be the source of knowledge, but this knowledge may be right or wrong. Perceptual knowledge and inference may be true or false, and verbal statements may be significant without being valid. In other words, *pramāṇas* may give rise to knowledge either in a purely psychological or in a purely logical sense. The names of the several *pramāṇas* are used for both. Thus, in the second of the two sentences quoted above from Vātsyāyana, *pratyakṣa* should be taken in a psychological sense because its data are there said to stand in need of a critical examination; but the same term in Gautama's definition of it is used in a logical sense, since it represents there knowledge that does not go astray (*avyabhicāri*)¹. From what Uddyotakāra says², it appears that even the general term *pramāṇa*, whose recognised use is in the sense of what leads to right knowledge (*pramāṇakaraṇam*), might occasionally share this ambiguity and be used where the knowledge is erroneous.

The failure to distinguish between these two uses accounts for some perplexing statements met with in philosophical works. We have one such instance in *Upalabdhi-sādhanaṁ pramāṇam*, an old definition of *pramāṇa*; and Vācaspati in commenting upon it, feels constrained to interpret the first word in it as *pramā* or right knowledge, although Gautama himself has declared it to be a synonym of *jñāna* or knowledge in general³. As a second instance, we may refer to Viśvanātha's definition of *pratyakṣa*,

1. I. i, 4.

2. *Nyāya-vārtika*, pp. 3 and 7.

3. *Tātparya-tīkā*, pp. 20-1 and *Nyāya-sūtra*, I. i, 15.

viz., *Indriya-janyam jñānam pratyakṣam*¹ where, according to the *Rāma-rudrīya*, the word *jñāna* is to be taken as equivalent to *pramā* for, otherwise, the definition will be out of accord with Gautama's definition of the same. Prof. Randle points out that the contention of certain Indian thinkers, like the followers of Nyāya, *viz.* that the validity of knowledge is established *ab extra* (*parataḥ prāmāṇyam*) is also traceable to the same source².

To sum up: The general term *pramāṇa* and the special ones also like *pratyakṣa* have three different, but closely connected, meanings: They signify first, a source of knowledge, without reference to its being either true or false; secondly, a source of valid knowledge; and lastly, a means of scrutiny. The distinction between the first two of these meanings is clear; but the same cannot, perhaps, be said of that between the last two. So a word of explanation may be necessary about it. *Pramāṇas*, in the second sense, are thought of as simply revealing truth. In the third sense also, their aim is taken to be the revelation of truth; but they are regarded as always presupposing doubt, and reaching truth after the discovery of the logical grounds for believing in one and not believing in the other of the two alternatives involved in doubt.³ If the emphasis in the one case is on the cognitive side, it is on the probative side in the other. We may add that we have cited in the course of this paper only the authority of Nyāya teachers, because the Nyāya is pre-eminently a *pramāṇa-sūtra*, and not because the imperfect terminology referred to (so far as it is imperfect) is peculiar to that system.

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1. *Siddhānta-muktāvalī*, pp. 235-6 (Nirṇayasāgara Edition).
 2. *Indian Logic in the Early Schools*, p. 58, note 2.
 3. Cf. *Nyāya-sūtra*, I. i, 41.

VIDYĀVINODA NĀRĀYAṆA'S COMMENTARY
ON THE AMARAKOŚA

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Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda is one of the most important of the latter-day commentators on the Nāmalingānuśāsana, hailing from Bengal. Among the earliest of the Bengal commentaries on this work is that of Sarvānanda and it was followed by that of Rāyamukūṭa. After Rāyamukūṭa, Nārāyaṇa is the most important commentator. Apart from Sarvānanda and Rāyamukūṭa, there were certain early Bengal commentators, but their works are not now available. Subhūticandra's commentary is available, but we do not know whether he was a native of Bengal. Other commentators whose works are available belong either to the period of Nārāyaṇa or are slightly later. It is the purpose of this paper to indicate the importance of Nārāyaṇa's work, a copy of which was acquired by the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. (R. 3645.)

Regarding the personality of the author, we know this much:—

In Pūrvagrāma in Rāḍha or Bengal there was a person of great learning by name Kalānidhī. He had a brother by name Jaṭādhara. Jaṭādhara's son was Bāṇeśvara and Bāṇeśvara's son was Nārāyaṇa. He had the title Vidyāvinoda, a distinction still in vogue in Bengal. Jaṭādhara wrote the Abhidhānatantra from Cātugrāma, the modern Chittagong. Rāyamukūṭa is supposed by Aufrecht to have been a contemporary of Jaṭādhara, and if so, Nārāyaṇa should be referred to the beginning of the sixteenth century A. D.

Nārāyaṇa's commentary is important in that it mentions a host of authors and works, many of whom are unknown or are little known. On the whole the author mentions over 100 authors and over 80 works. The following is a complete list of authors and works referred to in the course of the commentary:—

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|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Abhinanda. | 43. Dharanī. |
| 2. Ācāryamañjarī. | 44. Dharmadāsa. |
| 3. Ajaya. | 45. Dhātupārāyaṇa. |
| 4. Amaradatta. | 46. Dhātupradīpa. |
| 5. Amaramālā. | 47. Dhṛtidāsa. |
| 6. Anekārthadhvanimañjarī. | 48. Durga. |
| 7. Ardhanārīśvara. | 49. Durgasimha. |
| 8. Aruṇa. | 50. Dvirūpakośa. |
| 9. Aruṇadatta. | 51. Ghaṭakarpa. |
| 10. Āścaryamañjarī. | 52. Gītā. |
| 11. Bhagavadgītā. | 53. Govardhana. |
| 12. Bhāgavata. | 54. Goyīcandra. |
| 13. Bhāgavṛtti. | 55. Haḍḍa. |
| 14. Bhāguri. | 56. Haḍḍacandra. |
| 15. Bhañjukośa. | 57. Halāyudha. |
| 16. Bhānu. | 58. Hārāvalī. |
| 17. Bharata. | 59. Haravilāsa. |
| 18. Bhārata. | 60. Harivarṃśa. |
| 19. Bhāravi. | 61. Harṣacarita. |
| 20. Bhāṣāvṛtti. | 62. Hemamālī. |
| 21. Bhāṣya. | 63. Indu. |
| 22. Bhaṭṭa. | 64. Indurāja. |
| 23. Bhaṭṭavārtika. | 65. Jānakīharaṇa. |
| 24. Bhaṭṭi. | 66. Jātarūpa. |
| 25. Bhavabhūti. | 67. Jayāditya. |
| 26. Bhavadēva. | 68. Jinendra. |
| 27. Bhīmasena. | 69. Jumarānandin. |
| 28. Bhoja. | 70. Kālidāsa. |
| 29. Bhojadeva. | 71. Kaliṅga. |
| 30. Bhojarāja. | 72. Kaliṅgadatta. |
| 31. Br̥hatkośa. | 73. Kātya. |
| 32. Br̥haspati. | 74. Kātyāyana. |
| 33. Cāṇakyaṭīkā. | 75. Kaumudī. |
| 34. Caṇḍī. | 76. Kāvyaaprakāśa. |
| 35. Candra. | 77. Kaiyaṭa. |
| 36. Cāndra. | 78. Keśava. |
| 37. Candragomin. | 79. Kīcakavadha. |
| 38. Damayantī. | 80. Kohaḷa. |
| 39. Dāmodara. | 81. Kramadīśvara. |
| 40. Daṇḍin. | 82. Kṛṣṇa. |
| 41. Dhanañjaya. | 83. Kṛṣṇadāsa. |
| 42. Dhanvantari. | 84. Kumāradāsa. |

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| 85. Kumārasambhava. | 127. Rājaśekhara. |
| 86. Liṅgadatta. | 128. Rakṣita. |
| 87. Madanadatta. | 129. Rāmadāsa. |
| 88. Mādhava. | 130. Rāmadāsaṭikā. |
| 89. Mādhavikā. | 131. Rāmāyaṇa. |
| 90. Madhumādhava. | 132. Rantideva. |
| 91. Madhumādhavaṭikā. | 133. Ratna. |
| 92. Madhumitra. | 134. Ratnākara. |
| 93. Māgha. | 135. Ratnakośa. |
| 94. Mahābhārata. | 136. Ratnamālā. |
| 95. Mahārṇava. | 137. Rāyamukūṭa. |
| 96. Mahāvīracarita. | 138. Rāvaṇa. |
| 97. Mahimnasstava. | 139. Rudra. |
| 98. Maitra. | 140. Rudradāsa. |
| 99. Manu. | 141. Rudradeva. |
| 100. Mārkaṇḍa. | 142. Rūparatnākara. |
| 101. Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa. | 143. Śabarasvāmin. |
| 102. Medinī. | 144. Śabdamahārṇava. |
| 103. Medinikāra. | 145. Śabdamālā. |
| 104. Mokṣadharmā. | 146. Śabdārṇava. |
| 105. Mukūṭa. | 147. Śābdika. |
| 106. Murāri. | 148. Śābdika Narasimha. |
| 107. Mūrdhanyabheda. | 149. Śāhasāṅka. |
| 108. Naladamayanti. | 150. Śakārabheda. |
| 109. Nāmamālā. | 151. Śākaṭāyaṇa. |
| 110. Nānārthakośa. | 152. Śālihotra. |
| 111. Nandī. | 153. Sāmbapurāṇa. |
| 112. Nārada. | 154. Sañjha. |
| 113. Narasimha. | 155. Sāṁkhya. |
| 114. Nyāsa. | 156. Saṁkṣiptasāra. |
| 115. Nyāsakāra. | 157. Saṁsārāvarta. |
| 116. Pañjikā. | 158. Saṁvarta. |
| 117. Pañjikānyāsa. | 159. Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa. |
| 118. Pārāyaṇa. | 160. Sarvadhara. |
| 119. Paśupati. | 161. Sarvasvam. |
| 120. Prapañcasāra. | 162. Sarvānanda. |
| 121. Purāṇa. | 163. Śāśvata. |
| 122. Pūrṇacandra. | 164. Skanda. |
| 123. Puruṣottomadeva. | 165. Smṛti. |
| 124. Rabhasa. | 166. Śrībhoja. |
| 125. Raghu. | 167. Śrīdhara. |
| 126. Rājadeva. | 168. Śrī Harṣa. |

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| 169. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa. | 193. Varāha. |
| 170. Śubhāṅka. | 194. Vararuci. |
| 171. Subhūti. | 195. Varṇadeśanā. |
| 172. Sumitra. | 196. Varṇamālā. |
| 173. Sundaranandacarita. | 197. Vārtikakāramiśra. |
| 174. Sūryaśataka. | 198. Vāsavadattā. |
| 175. Suśruta. | 199. Vātsyāyana. |
| 176. Svāmī. | 200. Vāyupurāṇa. |
| 177. Tārapāla. | 201. Veṇīśarinhāra. |
| 178. Ṭikākāra. | 202. Vīdagdhāmukhamāṇḍana. |
| 179. Ṭikākṛt. | 203. Vikramāditya. |
| 180. Trikāṇḍa. | 204. Vinitakīrti. |
| 181. Trikāṇḍaśeṣa. | 205. Viṣṇupurāṇa. |
| 182. Ujjvaladatta. | 206. Viśva. |
| 183. Uṇādivṛtti. | 207. Viṣvaksena. |
| 184. Upādhyāyasarvasva. | 208. Vopālita. |
| 185. Ūṣmabheda. | 209. Vṛddhacarita. |
| 186. Utpalamālā. | 210. Vṛddhāmarakośa. |
| 187. Utpalamālinī. | 211. Vṛttikṛt. |
| 188. Utpalinī. | 212. Vṛtti. |
| 189. Vācaspati. | 213. Vyāḍi. |
| 190. Vaikuṇṭha. | 214. Vyāsa. |
| 191. Vāmana. | 215. Yājñavalkya. |
| 192. Vāṇa. | |

I shall now proceed to give a short account of the most important and comparatively unknown of these authors and works.

Abhinanda.—He is the author of the *Kādambarīkathāsāra*, published in the *Kāvyamālā*.

Ācāryamañjarī.—This is in all probability the same as the *Āścaryamañjarī* of Kulaśekhara, the author of the *Tapatīśarīvaraṇa*. *Āścarya* should have been mis-spelt and written as *Ācārya*. Three extracts are found from the *Āścaryamañjarī* in this commentary¹.

Ajaya.—The lexicon of Ajaya is known as *Nānārtha-Saṅgraha*. This has been published under the auspices of the Madras University.

¹ See my papers on "A new commentary on the *Amarakośa*" and "Subhūticandra's commentary on the *Amarakośa*" in the *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*.

Amaradatta.—A lexicographer of antiquity. His lexicon is not available at present.

Amaramālā.—This is also a lexicon of antiquity; and this too is known only through citations. This is perhaps the same as the “Mālā”. This is older than the tenth century.

Anekārthadhvanimañjarī.—A lexical work of this name is attributed to a *Kṣaṇṇaka*, copies of which are available. This work has not been printed so far.

Ardhanārīśvara.—This writer is older than Sarvānanda of 1159 A. D. His work was presumably on the nature of genders in Sanskrit. The work is not available at present.

Aruṇa, *Aruṇadatta*.—These two names most probably indicate the same person. From the reference under the name of Aruṇadatta we have to infer that his work was in the nature of a commentary on a lexicon. But from the other reference under the name of Aruṇadatta we have to infer that he wrote a lexicon. The former reference reads thus:—

“किरीटं शिरोवेष्टनं शिरोभूषणम्” इत्यरुणः (p. 851).

The latter reference reads as follows:—

अरुणदत्तेन “विपणे च स्यात्” इति पुंस्त्वं प्रतिपादितम् (p. 197).

Bhāgavṛtti.—I have elsewhere¹ said that the *Bhāgavṛtti* is attributed to a *Bhartṛhari*. *Bhartṛhari* may turn out to be the same person as is referred to by Hieun Tsang and also different from the author of the *Vākyapadīya*. There are four references to the *Bhāgavṛtti* in this work.²

Bhāguri.—*Bhāguri* is the author of an old lexicon by name *Trikāṇḍa*. A *Bhāguri* is known to have been a grammarian; another *Bhāguri* was an authority on *Dharmaśāstra*. The three might or might not have been identical. In the name of *Bhāguri* there are about twenty extracts and in the name of the *Trikāṇḍa* there are over twenty-five. In one of the extracts we find the name of the work and the author coupled together.

त्रिकाण्डभागुरिश्च दन्तामाह [?] (p. 219).

Bhañjukośa.—The following extract gives the information regarding this work:—

“विष्णुः कुमोदकः शौरिः” इति भञ्जुकोषः.

1. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. VIII.

2. See pp. 62, 452, 808 and 815.

It is likely that the author was one Bhañju and that he wrote a lexicon from which the extract cited above was taken. This work was unknown to Dr. Aufrecht.

Bhavadeva.—Bhavadeva is an important writer on Mīmāṃsā and Śrauta ritual. He was an important figure in Rāḍha in the twelfth century. He is referred to thus:—

यच्छ्रुतिः “यदग्नये शुचये निर्वपति” । शुचिनामानमग्निं संस्थाप्यते
[?] इति भवदेवः (p. 708).

Bhoja, Bhojadeva and Bhojarāja.—These are three different names indicating the same individual. His *Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and other works are referred to in this work.

Brhatkośa.—This is an entirely unheard of work. The name of the author is not known either. There is only one extract from this work and it runs thus:—

“सैरीयकः सहचरः” इति बृहत्कोशः (p. 266).

Bṛhaspati.—He is the same as Rāyamukuṭa¹ whose commentary on the *Amarakośa* is too well known.

Cāṇakyaṭīkā.—This is the work of Bhikṣuprabhamati, a fragmentary copy of which is found in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The extract from that work (on page 328) is the same as that cited by Sarvānanda in his *Ṭīkā-sarvasva*. It is therefore likely that the author did not see the original for himself. Bhikṣuprabhamati is an ancient commentator on the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya².

Caṇḍī.—There are four references from *Caṇḍī*. Neither the nature of the work nor the name of the work is known. *Caṇḍī* is probably the name of the author. From the extracts it seems as if it were a *Kāvya*.

Candra, Candragomin and Cāndra.—Candra and Candragomin seem to be identical. The one is a shortened form of the other. One extract in the name of Candra and three in the name of Candragomin are found in this work.³ All the four extracts are from a lexicon. The lexicon should have been arranged according to the final syllable of the words treated.

1. This work will soon be published by the Madras University under the editorship of the author of this paper.

2. See pp. 155, 259, 414 and 515.

3. See pp. 137, 150, 538 and 608.

The references to the grammatical work of Candra is distinguished and always cited in this work as *Cāndraḥ*. It is likely that the grammarian is different from the lexicographer.

Damayantī.—The reference to this work is identical with the one cited by Subhūticandra¹. Both are indebted to the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa of Bhoja, from where they borrow the extract.

Dāmodara.—In all likelihood Dāmodara here referred to is the author of the Upādhyāyasarvasva, a work on grammar. Two extracts in the name of Dāmodara² and five in the name of the Upādhyāyasarvasva³ are found in this work.

Dharmadāsa.—The extract under this name happens to be the same as cited by Sarvānanda⁴ and other writers. Sarvānanda while citing this extract from Dharmadāsa refers to the author as Dharma, omitting the appellation *dāsa*. One of the extracts from Dharmadāsa cited by Sarvānanda makes him out to be a poet.

Dhātupārāyaṇa.—This is the lost work of Pūrṇacandra, that is referred to here. Three extracts in the name of the Dhātupārāyaṇa⁵ and one in the name of Pūrṇacandra⁶ are found in this work. That Pūrṇacandra was the author of the Dhātupārāyaṇa is found mentioned by Sarvānanda.

Dhṛtidāsa.—Two extracts are cited in the name of one Dhṛtidāsa. Both of them are from a lexicon. I have elsewhere said that Dhṛtidāsa composed a lexicon⁷.

Govardhana.—To Govardhana there are nearly ten references in the work under notice. Most of the references seem to point to a grammatical work of the author. His commentary on the Uṇādisūtra and the Aṣṭādhyāyī have been referred already by me elsewhere⁸.

Haḍḍa, Haḍḍacandra.—The name of this writer is spelt differently in different places. In its full form it is Haḍḍacandra, and in the shortened form, Haḍḍa. The name is sometimes written as Haṭṭa and Haṭṭacandra. All these are vernacular

1. See Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. VIII.

2. See pp. 248, 445.

3. See pp. 20, 147, 317 and 614.

4. See Ṭikāsarvasva under II, iv, 76.

5. See pp. 138, 607 and 675.

6. See pp. 30.

7. J.O.R., Vol. VIII.

8. J.O.R., Vol. VIII,

forms of the word Bhaṭṭacandra. There are nearly forty references to this writer in the work under reference.

Haḍḍa wrote a work on grammar and another on lexicography. He was older than 1100 A. D. In all likelihood he belonged to Bengal.

Haravilāsa.—The following tag from the *Haravilāsa* appears on p. 840:—

दशाननक्षितक्षुरसखण्डितम्.

Hemamālī.—I conjectured elsewhere¹ that this work should be regarded to be a lexicon. It is now confirmed by the extract found on page 822 of this work. It runs thus:—

उषा निशायामप्युक्ता.

Jātoja.—This writer is referred to thus:—

“हरामहादवरतात मातः” इति । अस्मात् तमीत्यमूलम्, तमा इत्येव पाठात् इति जातोजादयः (p. 77).

In this extract we find *Jātoja* criticising somebody who wanted to change the reading of a verse found in the *Vidagdhamukhamanḍana*. From this we are able to say that *Jātoja* is later than the author of the *Vidagdhamukhamanḍana* and earlier than *Nārāyaṇa*. This writer has not been referred to anywhere else.

Kṛṣṇadāsa.—*Kṛṣṇadāsa* belonged to Bengal. He wrote a commentary on the *Amarakośa*. Over forty extracts are found in the work under consideration from the commentary of *Kṛṣṇadāsa*. No copy of that commentary is known to exist at present.

Līṅgadatta.—A writer of this name is referred to in this passage:—

“पुष्पफलं च जातमात्रम् ; अनाप्तकालिकत्वं जालकम्” इति लिङ्गदत्तः (p. 222).

Who this author is, is not clear.

Madanadatta.—*Madanadatta* seems to have been a lexicographer. What his work is, is not known. One extract from the lexicon of this author is cited on p. 161.

Mādhava.—*Mādhava* is the lexicographer, that is referred several times over in the work under reference. I have elsewhere said that the lexicon of this writer is known as *Paryāya-*

ratnamālā and that it should have been composed on the model of the Anekārthasamuccaya of Śāśvata.

Madhumādhava, Madhumādhavaṭīkā.—There are over 100 extracts in the name of Madhumādhava in the work under notice. Madhumādhava was a Bengal commentator on the Amarakośa. From the fact that he is not referred to by Sarvānanda and Subhūti and that he is cited as an authority by Rāyamukṣa in his Vyākhyā we can assign this author to a period between 1200 and 1400 A. D. No copy of the work is known to exist anywhere. The available extracts from this lost commentary are being published in the Journal of Oriental Research.

Madhumitra.—References to Madhumitra as a lexicographer were cited already¹. He was probably a commentator on the Amarakośa as well. Of the six extracts² from his composition found in the work under reference only one seems to point to a lexicon and that extract is the same as was already cited by me. All other extracts appear to be taken from a commentary on the Amarakośa.

Naladamayantī.—This work is referred to thus:—

प्रियालपनससाराणि [?] यौवनानि वनानि इति नलदमयन्ती (p. 237).

It is likely that this is the same work as the one referred to by Subhūticandra. Subhūticandra in turn cites an extract from the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa without mentioning the name, in which Damayantī is referred to as a Kāvya in prose and verse mixed together. The extract cited above is from a prose passage and it is not unlikely that the work referred to here is the same as that known to the author of the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

Nāmamālā.—The Nāmamālā is no doubt a lexicon. From the work under notice we know that one of the several Nāmamālās known to us contained verses in the Āryā metre (p. 373).

Nandī.—The name of Nandī is coupled with that of Śābara-svāmin in the following extract:—

तृफलेति नन्दिशबरस्वामिनौ (p. 594).

1. J.O.R., Vol. VIII.

2. See pp. 205, 217, 232, 252, 269 and 779.

3. J. O. R., Vol. VIII.

Pañjikā.—This is an old commentary on the Amarakośa, much relied on by Mukuṭa and others. There are about eight extracts in this work from the Pāñjikā. The Pañjikā is now lost.

Paśupati.—This author is referred to thus:—

वास्तु कायतीति वास्तुकम् इति । वास्तुग्रभवत्वात् इति पशुपतिः

(p. 320).

Who this Paśupati is, is not clear.

Pūrṇacandra.—He is the author of the Dhātupārāyaṇa, now lost to us.

Rājadeva.—Rājadeva is a grammarian. His explanation of the word शेवधि is given thus:—शे कल्याणेऽब्धिः शेवधिः (p. 53).

Ratnākara.—Ratnākara is referred to thus:—

वाश्यते काम्यत इति तालव्यश इति रत्नाकरः (p. 728).

Ratnākara may be the name of either an author or a work. Anyway the extract cited above deals with grammatical points. There is only one extract in the name of Ratnākara.

Ratnakośa.—There are over seventy extracts from the Ratnakośa in the work under reference. This Kośa, according to Sarvānanda, consisted of at least three Kāṇḍas—Strikāṇḍa, Puṁskāṇḍa and and Napuṁsakakāṇḍa. This is one of the oldest of the lost Sanskrit lexicons.

Rudra.—Rudra is another lexicographer belonging to a period prior to the 12th century A. D. Rudra's identity is not well known, but we know this much that he should have lived prior to Kṣīrasvāmin, for the latter quotes certain verses which are attributed to Rudra by others. For instance the verse

निर्दिष्टा वै कटकिनी स च कालेयकः स्मृतः ।

कालीयको दारुनिशा दार्वीपीतद्रुपीतकाः ॥

quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin under II-iv-102 is attributed to Rudra in the same context by Bhānuji in his Vyākhyāsudhā. But the most interesting reference so far as Rudra is concerned is the arḍha

प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता

cited by Kṣīrasvāmin, but attributed to Rudra by Bhānuji under III-i-25. This tag is cited as Bhaṭṭa Tota's by Abhinavagupta. We

do not know whether Tota was otherwise known as Rudra or whether Rudra borrowed the tag from Tota.

Śabdamahārṇava.—There is only one reference to this lost lexicon in the commentary under reference. The name of the author of this work is not known, nor his probable date, except that he is older than Nārāyaṇa.

Śabdamālā.—This is another lexicon like the above one. There is only one reference to this work on page 190 of the ms.

Sarvadhara.—The Sarvadhara referred to by Nārāyaṇa in five different places in the work under notice should have been a commentator on the Amarakośa. Copies of Sarvadhara's commentary are rare to meet with. It is difficult, in the absence of any copy of his commentary, to say whether he is identical with the author of an *Unādivṛtti*, a fragmentary copy of which is found in the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The latter is a palm leaf ms. copied about the 12th century. If the two are identical, Sarvadhara is one of the oldest of the Bengal commentators. It may be noted that Sarvadhara has not been mentioned by Sarvānanda.

Sumitra.—This is another unknown lexicographer. The following citation from his work is found on page 520.

यादोभेदेऽपि शङ्कुः स्यात् शल्येऽपि शङ्कुरुच्यते ।

Utpalamālā, *Utpalamālinī* and *Utpalinī*.¹—The *Utpalamālinī* is different from the other two works, and probably dealt with the grammar of the Samkṣiptasāra school².

Vaikuṇṭha.—There are sufficient reasons to suppose that Vaikuṇṭha is a commentator on the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana. Five extracts from his work are found in the work under reference. All these extracts might well have found a place in his commentary.

1. See Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. VIII, p. 212.

2. See p. 9 of the ms.

THE FOUNDERS OF VIJAYANAGARA BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY.*

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Within a decade after its conquest by the Muhammadans, the territory which was under the sway of the valiant Rājā of Kampili passed into the hands of the five sons of Saṅgama, who extended its boundaries quickly and laid the foundations of a mighty empire. The circumstances under which the transference of this territory was made from the Muslim hands again to those of the Hindus are not known. It has been assumed that the territory was reconquered from the Mussalmans by Harihara I and his brothers; this assumption has been accepted as an undoubtable fact, though no evidence can be brought forward in support of it. An attempt is made in the following pages to describe the way in which Harihara I and his brothers succeeded in laying hold of the dominion of the Rājā of Kampili.

Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the Sultan of Dehli, invaded the kingdom of Kampili in 1326 A.D., the Rājā was slain in the siege of Hosdurg; and his sons, together with many of the inhabitants of the fort, were taken prisoners and were sent to the Sultan's camp which was probably at Dēvagiri. The Sultan converted all of them to Islam. Nothing more is known about the affairs of Kampili subsequent to its conquest. However, a few incidental remarks made by the historian Barni show that the kingdom of Kampili was annexed to the empire of Dehli, and that a governor was appointed to carry on its administration. Nuniz, a Portuguese writer of the early 16th century, gives a connected account of the events that happened in the kingdom of Kampili after its subjugation by Sultan Muhammad. According to his narrative, the Sultan halted for two years in the fort of Crynmata (Kummaṭa), when he destroyed 'some villages and towns which had risen against him.' At the end of this period, he was constrained to depart to Northern India, owing to the outbreak of a rebellion. He gathered together his scattered army, and having left 'many

* Read before the All India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum in December, 1938.

troops' 'in the fortress' under the command of one of his Mussalman officers called variously Enbiquay Melly, Meliquey Niby or Mileque Neby with 'abundant provisions for its defence in all circumstances,' he hastened with the rest of his army to 'his own kingdom.'

As soon as the Sultan departed, the people of the kingdom of Kampili rose in rebellion against Meliquey Niby, their governor. They withheld the payment of taxes, besieged him in the fortress, and prevented provisions from reaching him. Meliquey Niby informed the Sultan, his master, of this state of affairs and requested him to do what he considered best under the circumstances.

On receiving this information, the Sultan, acting upon the advice of his councillors, released from prison six men of Kampili whom he held captive. He appointed one of them, who was the minister of the late king of Kampili, as its new king; and made another, who was formerly treasurer under the old king, governor. And having taken from them 'oaths and pledges of their fealty as vassals' he sent them 'to their lands with a large following to defend them from any one who should desire to do them any injury.'

The new king, who was called Devarao, relieved, on his arrival, Meliquey Niby of his charge and assumed the duties of his office. He carried on the administration of the country for six years, during which he pacified 'the people and those who had revolted' and laid the foundations of a new capital. He abandoned the idea of reconquering the lost lands as he had no army. On his death, Bucarao 'inherited the kingdom.'

The account of Nuniz contains a few errors. It is true that Sultan Muhammad stayed in the Deccan for two years after the subjugation of Kampili, but he could not have made the fortress of Crynmata (Kummaṭa) his headquarters, as he had just then transferred the capital of his kingdom to Dēvagiri, and was busy in reducing Kondhāna and other forts which still held out against him. It is more likely that the Sultan stayed at Dēvagiri than at Kummaṭa. Again Nuniz's assertion that Devarao ruled only for six years and that he abandoned the lost territory of the old kingdom of Kampili owing to the lack of an army is contrary to known facts; for, Devarao, *i.e.*, Harihara I, ruled for

twenty years during which he was continuously at war with his neighbours.

Notwithstanding these errors, the narrative of Nuniz seems to describe the events in the kingdom of Kampili with substantial accuracy, and his account is supported by evidence furnished by other independent sources. According to him, Sultan Muhammad appointed Meliquey Niby, one of his Mussalman officers, as the governor of the conquered territory; but this officer is not known to the Mussalman historians, and no trace of him is found in any Hindu record. Sewell has equated the name Meliquey Niby with Malik Nāib¹; but this does not enable us to identify this officer; for, Malik Nāib is not a proper name but an official designation of the provincial governors. The attempt to identify him with Malik Maqbūl² cannot be said to be more successful; for, in the first place, there is no evidence to associate Malik Maqbūl's name with the governorship of Kampili; and secondly, by the time when he was posted to the province of Telingānā in 1335 A.D. Harihara I was already the master of Ānegondi, holding sway over a large part of the Telugu country. The real clue for discovering the identity of Meliquey Niby is furnished by the chronicles of the Āra-viḍu chiefs. The Bālabhāgavatam and the Rāmarājīyam assert that Sōmadēvarāja, one of the early Āra-viḍu chiefs, defeated in battle a certain Muhammadan chief called Muhammad, captured him with six thousand horse, and released him only after he acknowledged Sōmadēvarāja as his overlord. Muhammad who was thus vanquished by Sōmadēva has been identified with the Bahmani Sultan Muhammad Shāh I.³

This identification, however, is not tenable, as Sōmadēvarāja lived before the time of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani I. According to the Bālabhāgavata, Koṭikanṭi Rāghava, a half-brother of this Sōmadēvarāja, defeated Kampili Rāya, and deprived him of the seven constituents of his royalty.⁴ As Kampili Rāya ruled from 1303 to 1326 A.D., Koṭikanṭi Rāghava who defeated him, as well as his half-brother Sōmadēvarāja, must have lived about the same time. Therefore, Muhammad whom

1. Sewell: The Forgotten Empire, p. 296 n. 2.

2. Ishwari Prasad: History of the Qaraunah Turks in India I, p. 189.

3. S. K. Ayyangar: The Sources of Vijayanagar History Intro., p. 6.

4. The Bhārati vi. P. 848.

Sōmadēva defeated could not have been Muhammad Shāh Bahmani I. An attempt has been made recently to identify this Muhammad with Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq.¹ Though, on chronological grounds, the identification is quite possible, it is not probable that the Muhammad under consideration could have been Sultan Muhammad. It is inconceivable how a petty chief like Sōmadēva could have managed to inflict a defeat upon the powerful Sultan of Dehli, and take him prisoner; much less is it credible that the Sultan purchased his freedom by recognising his captor as his overlord. Muhammad who was defeated and captured by Sōmadēva must have been one of the Sultan's officers governing the country in the neighbourhood of Kampili; for, it was in this region that Sōmadēva appears to have come into conflict with him. Prince Mahmūd Khān, one of the sons of Ghiāsh-ud-din Tughlaq, was in charge of Dēvagiri at the time of Ulūgh Khān's flight from Warangal in 1323 A. D. It is said that Sultān Ghiāsh-ud-dīn Tughlaq conferred Dēvagiri upon him as a fief;² and that he went to Dehli at the instance of Ulugh Khān to convey the news of the rebellion of Tamar and Taghi at Warangal. As Mahmūd Khān was on friendly terms with Ulūgh Khān, it is unlikely that he was deprived of his fief when the latter ascended the throne of Dehli in 1325 as Muhammad bin Tughlaq. After the suppression of Bahā-ud-dīn Garshāsp's rebellion and the annexation of the kingdom of Kampili, Sultan Muhammad made Dēvagiri his capital. The shifting of the capital to Dēvagiri must have deprived Mahmūd Khān of his estate; and the Sultan must have felt the need for providing him with a suitable substitute. The land of Kampili which had been conquered had to be placed under a trustworthy officer; and it is not unlikely that the Sultan entrusted to Mahmūd Khān the administration of the conquered territory on the eve of his departure to Dehli in 1328 A. D. In that case, Mahmūd Khān must be identified with Muhammad, the enemy of Sōmadēvarāja, and Meliquey Niby of Nuniz.

1. C. Virabhadra Rao: *Aliyarāmarāju*, p. 20.

2. *Īṣāmy: The Futūh-us-Salātīn.*
Pas ānga shanīdam ki Maḥmūd khān
Ki bud mukhaffir-i-jumla shahzād-gān
Shahash karda bud maqta'-i-Dēvgīr
Hami būd ānjā sukūnat pizīr.

The rebellion: Mahmūd Khān, however, found it the difficult to govern his province; for, according to Nuniz, the people of Kampili—'those who had escaped to the mountains', with others who, 'against their will and through fear had taken oaths of fealty for their towns and villages'—rose up in rebellion as soon as they heard that the Sultan of Dehli 'departed to his own kingdom.' They withheld the payment of taxes, laid siege to his headquarters, and prevented provisions from reaching him. The names of the Hindu leaders who stirred up this rebellion are not known. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the Āraṇḍī chief Sōmadēva mentioned above played a decisive part in it. He is said to have defeated, as stated already, in several battles the renowned Mussalman warrior Muhammad, and captured him ultimately, with six thousand horse, but released him from captivity, when he acknowledged Sōmadēva as his overlord. He also laid siege to the fort of Gaṅginēnikonḍa and put Naḍa Bāla Nāyaka, Gujjala Vīrinēḍu, Rudrapa Nāyaka, Gaurā Reḍḍi and Gaṅgi Nāyaka to the sword. On a single day, during the course of a military expedition, he is said to have taken the seven forts of Gaṅginēnikonḍa, Kandanavōlu (Kurnool), Kaluvakolanu, Rāchūr (Rāichūr), Musalimaḍugu, Yātagiri (Ētgir) and Sātānikōṭa. Moreover, he won victories in the battles of Nāgulapāḍu, Ānegondi and Kunti and Sara.

The region which was the scene of Sōmadēva's exploits is a small area comprising portions of the Kurnool, Bellary and Raichur districts; for, almost all the forts which he is said to have captured and the places where he won victories are found in this tract. It is interesting to note that most of this territory was under Kampili Rāya until 1326 A. D.; then it passed into the hands of the Sultan of Dehli. Sōmadēva must have come into conflict with the famous Muslim warrior, Muhammad only in this region. If Sōmadēva had to fight several battles with Muhammad, it is evident that the Mussalman warrior had a firm hold on the country. These considerations taken together with the age in which Sōmadēva lived lead us to the unavoidable conclusion that he must have taken a predominant part in the rebellion. The battles in which he is said to have won victories must have been won over the Dehli armies under Mahmūd Khān, the *nāib* of the province of Kampili, and the Nāyaks whom he is said to have slain must have been the chiefs who remained loyal to the Sultan, notwithstanding the rebellion that was seething around them.

The progress of the rebellion must have been greatly influenced by the attitude of Ballāḷa III. He submitted meekly to the Sultan when Khwājah Jahān threatened to enter his kingdom in pursuit of Bahā-ud-dīn Garshāsp, and purchased peace by surrendering the fugitive whom he had entrapped. So long as the Sultan remained in the Deccan, Ballāḷa dared not swerve from the path of loyalty; but as soon as the Sultan turned his back on the Deccan, and the people of the newly subjugated lands showed signs of restiveness, he tore the mask of submission and asserted independence. "At that time", says the Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta, "the Nava¹ Ballāḷas, having gathered strength, rebelled against the Sultan in Karnāṭaka." And this is corroborated by the evidence of Vidyāraṇya Kāḷajñāna, according to which the Sultan sent an army under Harihara and Bukka to make war upon king Ballāḷa. It is but natural that Ballāḷa and the leaders of the Kampili rebellion should have joined together to wage war upon the common enemy, the Sultan of Dehli.

The combined forces of the rebels and Ballāḷa must have been too strong for Mahmūd Khān to resist. He was convinced that he could not make any headway against the rebels under the circumstances. Therefore, he informed the Sultan of this state of affairs and requested him to do what he considered best.

Harihara appointed governor of Kampili: The statement of Nuniz that the Sultan appointed Devarao, *i.e.*, Harihara I, as the governor of the province of Kampili is also confirmed by the evidence of the Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta and Kāḷajñāna. According to the former, Harihara and his brother Bukka, who were in the service of Pratāparudra of Warangal, were taken prisoners together with their master by the Sultan of Dehli, when he captured Warangal. They remained at his court; and the Sultan, on hearing of the rebellion of the Nava Ballāḷas in Karnāṭaka, sent Harihara and his brother with an army to subdue the rebels. The latter states more accurately that Harihara and Bukka who were in the service of Pratāparudra fled from Warangal, when that monarch was defeated and captured by Muhammad, the

1. The significance of the term 'nava' in Nava Ballāḷaru is not quite clear. It may mean either nine or new. In either case the real import of the word in this context is incomprehensible. However that may be, Ballāḷa III was the king of Karnāṭaka about the time of the foundation of the kingdom of Vijayanagara.

Sultan of Dehli, and entered the service of Rāmanātha of the Kuru race. When the Sultan slew Rāmanātha they were also taken prisoners, and were kept in his court. Later, they were, however, released from prison and sent to Karṇāṭaka against king Ballāḷa. Barni also alludes to the appointment by the Sultan of a governor over Kampili, who, however, stirred up a revolt against his master and asserted independence some time before 1344 A. D.¹ Since Harihara was holding sway, as shown by his inscriptions, over the region of Kampili from 1336 to 1344 A.D., it is certain that the governor of Kampili alluded to by Barni is none other than Harihara himself.²

Why did Sultan Muhammad select Harihara and Bukka for leading the expedition against king Ballāḷa of Karṇāṭa and the rebels of Kampili? The Vidyāranya Kālaḷāṇa states that 'when they were in captivity, there was a thunderstorm at night, (the jail guards deserted their posts), and the Sultan was asleep; he (got up) and came out and found the two prisoners standing (inside) far from the gateway, and asked them why they were standing there; then the wise Sultan decided that they were very truthful, and he released them after presenting to them the country of Karṇāṭa.'³ This explanation is far from satisfactory. The Sultan might have released them from custody, being struck with admiration for their upright conduct; but it is not possible to believe that he had gone so far in his admiration as to bestow on them the province of Karṇāṭaka. As a matter of fact, the Vidyāranya Vṛttānta states that the Sultan 'being convinced of their uprightness' released them from imprisonment; he took them 'into his service and retained them at his court.' Therefore, the appointment of Harihara as the governor of the province of Kampili was not due to the admiration of the Sultan excited by his upright conduct. According to these works, Harihara and Bukka still remained Hindus at this time. Nevertheless, the Sultan is said to have bestowed upon them the province of Karṇāṭaka, thereby making an exception in their case. Though Sultan Muhammad was more liberal towards the Hindus than any other Muḥammadan king of Dehli excepting Akbar, he never appointed a Hindu to the governorship of a province, unless,

1. E.D., iii, p. 245.

2. The Origin of the City and the Empire of Vijayanagara, pp. 93-6.

3. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's translation.

like Kattu of Telingāṇā¹, he happened to be a convert to the true faith. Therefore, Harihara and Bukka would not have been posted to the government of Kampili had they remained Hindus at the time of appointment.

There is reason to believe that Harihara and Bukka like the others who were taken prisoners at Hosdurg were constrained to embrace Islam. "The town was taken", says Ibn Baṭūṭa, "its inhabitants were made prisoners, and they carried them to the Sultan *who made them all Mussalmans*."² It is not likely that Harihara and his brother who were among the prisoners were allowed to remain unconverted. The historian Barni explicitly states that the officer whom the Sultan had sent to govern Kampili apostatised from Islam.³ It has been pointed out already that this governor was none other than Harihara I.⁴ This view is also confirmed by Iṣāmy, another contemporary historian, who declares that the land of Kannaḍ extending from Gooty as far as the boundary Ma'bar was conquered by an apostate from Islam, some time after the rebellion of Sharīf Aḥsan Shāh at Madura.⁵ Gooty mentioned by Iṣāmy is identical with Gooty in the Anantapur district, a famous stronghold in this part of the country since the time of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi. Ma'bar, according to Wassaf, "extends in length from Kulam (Quilon) to Nilāwar (Nellore) nearly three hundred parsangs along the sea-coast."⁶ Although this indicates the extent of Ma'bar along the coast, its northern boundary in the interior is not known. However, as the Sultan of Ma'bar was in possession of Arcot and Kuppam (Kaṇṇanūr) at the time of Ibn Baṭūṭa's visit to Madura, the districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and the two Arcots seem to have been included in it. The Śambuvarāyas were in possession of the Chingleput district. Therefore, the country of Kannaḍ which the apostate conquered must have comprised, besides Anantapur, Cuddapah and Chittore districts and probably also a large part of Nellore district. And as Hari-

1. E.D., iii, p. 367.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 614-15.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 245-6.

4. The Origin of the City and the Empire of Vijayanagara, p. 96.

5. Iṣāmy. The Futūh-us-Salātīn.

*Yake murtadd iqḥīm-i-Kannaḍ girift
Zi Gūty u tā ḥadd-i-Ma'bar girift.*

6. E. D., iii, p. 32.

hara I was governing this tract of country from 1336 onwards,¹ it is not unreasonable to assume that he was the apostate referred to by Iṣāmy. There is thus ample contemporary evidence to show that Harihara I was a Mussalman by faith at the time of his appointment as the governor of Kampili. The Sultan very probably selected him for the office, owing to the considerations of religion.

It may, however, be asked why, if conversion to Islam was the criterion for the appointment, the Sultan did not choose one of the sons of the late Rājā of Kampili; for, like Harihara, they also embraced Islam and were rewarded by the conferment of high offices and jagirs. As the sons of the late Rājā, they must have had a greater claim upon the consideration of the Sultan than Harihara and Bukka who were but the servants of their family. The appointment of a son of the late Rājā of Kampili as the governor of his ancestral dominion, however, involved a breach of the policy which the early Tughlaq monarchs had favoured. They resolved to bring the whole of India under a single umbrella; and in pursuance of this policy, they overthrew all the independent and semi-independent kingdoms in the peninsula and incorporated them with the empire. The appointment of a son of the Rājā of Kampili as the governor of his native country which was in a state of rebellion might lead to the revival of the old kingdom, thereby causing a breach in the unity of the empire. The appointment of Harihara and Bukka, whose claim to rule the district depended entirely upon the authority of the Sultan, was expected, on the other hand, to keep it within the empire. Considerations such as these must have influenced the Sultan in sending Harihara with his brother to rule the land of Kampili.

The Vidyāranya Vṛttānta and Kālaṅṇāna relate that in obedience to the commands of the Sultan, Harihara and Bukka crossed the river Kṛṣṇā by means of a boat and encountered Ballāḷa in a battle. They were, however, defeated, and, being separated from their army, had to wander in the forest. Harihara, who was tired, fell asleep under a tree, resting his head upon the

1. According to the Kāpalūr plates dated 1336 A. D. Harihara's possessions along the Suvarṇamukharī were constituted into a *rājya* with Chandragiri in the Chittore district as its headquarters. (N. D. I. Cp. No. 15.)

lap of his brother. He had a dream in which he saw the Śaiva saint Rēvaṇa who gave him a liṅga and commanded him to see the sage Vidyāraṇya. Harihara woke up from sleep and related the dream to his brother. They started at once, and in accordance with the command of Rēvaṇa, paid a visit to Vidyāraṇya. The sage received them kindly and blessed them; and by his grace their army which was scattered, reassembled; they proceeded against Ballāḷa and defeated him in battle.

The incidents described in the foregoing passage could not have taken place in a single day. It is not possible to believe that Harihara and Bukka proceeded to attack Ballāḷa, even before they met Mahmūd Khān (Meliquy Niby) and took charge of the office from him. The battle with Ballāḷa (*i.e.*, the Ballāḷa at the head of the rebels) took place most probably after Harihara had assumed the governorship of the district. His defeat was perhaps partly due to the apathy shown to him by the people, as he was a Mussalman.

The wandering in the forest, referred to in the Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta and Kālaḷāṇa, seems to indicate the retirement of the two brothers to some place beyond the reach of the rebels, where they could recuperate their strength undisturbed. As the rebels were in possession of the north and west of the territory of Kam-pili, Harihara and his brother were obliged to seek shelter in some place further south or east. There is reason to believe that they retired to the fort of Gooty, which they seem to have made their headquarters, until they were able to subdue the rebels. According to Iṣāmy who was a contemporary of Harihara, he conquered Kannaḍ, as noticed already, from Gooty to the boundary of Ma'bar. It is evident that Gooty was the place from which he proceeded to subdue the country up to the frontier of Ma'bar, and very probably it was his capital. This view is supported by epigraphical evidence. The fort of Gutti (Gooty) according to an undated inscription found in the place, was 'the nave of the wheel of sovereignty over the whole earth of the illustrious king Bukka.' Moreover, it is said to be the increaser of his prosperity.¹ The inscription refers to a period when Gutti (Gooty) was the capital of Bukka's kingdom. As Bukka shifted his headquarters at first to Penugonḍa and afterwards to Dvārasamudra subsequent to 1340 A. D.,

1. S. I. I., i., p. 167.

the inscription under consideration must be assigned, as pointed out by me elsewhere, to a date earlier than 1340.¹ An epigraph from Aṭakalaguṇḍu dated 1339 A. D. mentions Gutti (Gooty) as the Neleviḍu from which Harihara I was ruling the kingdom. The Kāpalūr and the Yarraguḍi plates, however, assert that Kuñjarakōṇa (Ānegondi) was the capital of Harihara's kingdom in 1336 A.D.² Though the evidence of the inscriptions appears to be divergent, there is reason to think that their disagreement is more apparent than real. It has already been pointed out that Sōmadēvarāja captured among other forts Ādavani, Ānegondi, Rāichūr and Mudgal from Mahamūd Khān; and that Harihara and Bukka were defeated by the rebels on their arrival in the province of Kampili. Therefore, it was not possible for them to establish themselves at Ānegondi immediately, and consequently they appear to have retired to Gutti which they made their headquarters. By 1336 A. D., however, they extended their dominion, and having vanquished the rebels, recaptured Ānegondi, as will be shown presently, and made it the capital of their kingdom. Notwithstanding the change of the capital, Harihara as well as Bukka were residing in the fort of Gutti for a few years longer. Consequently it came to be mentioned in the inscriptions as the Neleviḍu or the headquarters of these princes, even after the change of the principal seat of their government from that place.

Harihara's dream: The Vidyāranya Vṛttānta and Kālaḥṇāna assert, as mentioned already, that Harihara saw in a dream Rēvaṇa Siddha³ who gave him a *liṅga* and directed him to pay a visit to Vidyāranya. The contemporaries of Harihara believed in dreams and supernatural occurrences. Īṣāmy describes a dream in which Zafar Khān ('Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Bhamani) saw an aged saint who presented him with a ring, *i. e.*, the

1. The Origin of the City and the Empire of Vijayanagara, p. 139.

2. N. D. I. I Ch. 15; E. C. X Bg. 70.

3. Rēvaṇa is one of the five *ācāryas* of the Vīra Śaiva or the Līṅgāyat sect. An inscription of Siravallā dated S.S. 1110 Plavaṅga, Bhādrapada ba 30, Friday, Solar eclipse, records the grant of land to Siddha Rēvaṇa, the priest of the temple of the god Siddha Sātēśvara. He is probably identical with the Vīra Śaiva *ācārya*. Mac. Mss. (Govt. Or. Mss. Lib.) 15-6-34. p. 35.

insignia of future royalty¹. The dream of Harihara probably indicates his contact with the Vira Śaivas which seems to have ultimately resulted in his reconversion. The advice which Rēvaṇa Siddha gave him that he should pay a visit to Vidyāranya is indeed sensible; for, without Vidyāranya's support, it would not have been possible for him to be accepted by the Hindus as their lawful sovereign.

An abrupt change which came over the political conditions of South India at this time must have exercised considerable influence upon Harihara in making up his mind. Sharīf Aḥsan Shāh, whom the Sultan sent from Dehli to govern the province of Ma'bar revolted in 1334 A. D. and asserted his independence. The Sultan marched at the head of his army to put down the rebel. On arriving at Dēvagiri in 1335 A. D., he made some arrangements for the collection of the revenue and marched on to Warangal, where an epidemic was raging. A large part of the Sultan's army perished in the disease; and the Sultan, who was also attacked in his turn, relinquished the idea of proceeding to Ma'bar to suppress the rebellion. He appointed Malik Maqbūl as the ruler of Tilang and retraced his steps to Dēvagiri, with the object of returning to Dehli. He halted for a few days at Dēvagiri, when he appointed Shihāb Sulṭāni as the governor of Bidar and its neighbourhood, bestowing upon him the title of Nuṣrat Khān. He also appointed his old tutor, Qutluḡh Khān as the governor of the Marhatta country, and hastened homewards. Owing to the continued political disturbances in Northern India, the Sultan could not return to the Deccan until 1346, and Sharīf Aḥsan Shāh was thus left in possession of Ma'bar as an independent monarch.²

Though the Sultan is said to have made on this occasion arrangements for the efficient administration of his possessions in Marhatta country and Teliṅgānā (both at Warangal and Bidar), no mention is made of Kampili or its affairs in this connection. It may be inferred from this that Harihara was still loyal to the Sultan; and consequently the Sultan found no reason to alter the existing administrative arrangements in his province. Therefore, the Sultan returned to his capital, believing probably that he had

1. Iṣāmy: Futūh-us-Salāṭīn.

2. Barni: Tarīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi, E. D. iii, p. 244.

placed the affairs of the Deccan on a sound basis. In this, however, he was mistaken. The failure of the Sultan to suppress the rebellion of Sharif Aḥsan Shāh had deleterious effects upon the stability of the empire. The prestige of the army of the Sultan sank low; and the smouldering embers of discontent manifested signs of the approaching conflagration.

Harihara whose territory lay in the immediate neighbourhood of Ma'bar, could not have remained unaffected. He seems to have made up his mind to cast in his lot with the Hindus of his province. The Sultan was entangled in a series of troubles in Northern India, and there was no likelihood of his return to the Deccan for a pretty long time. On the other hand, reversion to the Hindu faith was expected to strengthen his hold on the people and increase the extent of his territory. Therefore, he resolved to abandon Islam and return to the faith of his fathers. It was not, however, an easy task. No doubt, he had the support of the Vira Śaivas; but they were a small minority. The mass of the Hindu population, excepting the followers of Rāmānuja, owed allegiance to the Jagadguru Śaṅkarācārya of Śṛṅgēri. And Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda, by virtue of his learning and piety, exercised much power in the management of the affairs of the maṭha. If Harihara could secure his support, he would be able to accomplish his desire without difficulty. Therefore, he paid a visit to the hermitage of the sage, who is said to have received him kindly and blessed him, thereby indicating that he had accepted Harihara as one of his disciples.

The reconversion of Harihara must have strengthened his position considerably. The Hindus could no longer oppose him on the ground that he was a Mussalman and an enemy of their nation and faith. The wind was thus taken off the sails of his enemies. He gathered an army and proceeded against the rebels under the command of Ballāḷa. A battle was fought, in which Harihara inflicted a crushing defeat over his enemies. His victory appears to have been decisive, for he was able to capture Ānegondi and make it the chief seat of his government. He felt so secure that, on the advice of Vidyāraṇya, he laid the foundations of a new capital called Vijayanagara (the city of victory) in commemoration of his triumph over his enemies in 1336 A. D. He established his mastery over the Kṛṣṇā-Tuṅgabhadra doab and pushed his frontier as far north as Bādāmi in the Bijāpūr district before 1339 A. D.

The following abbreviations are employed in the citation of references in this article.

E. C. Epigraphia Carnatica, by Louis Rice.

N. D. I. Nellore District Inscriptions, by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty.

S. I. I. South Indian Inscriptions.

E. D. The History of India, by Sir H. Elliot and John Dowson.

Mac. Mss. Govt. Or. Mss. Lib. The Mackenzie manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

POETRY AND RASA

BY

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Leo Tolstoy, in his admirable essay on Art, answers the question, "What is art?", in these words:—

"To take a simple example: a boy having experienced, let us say, fear on encountering a wolf, relates that encounter, and in order to evoke in others the feeling he has experienced, describes himself, his condition before the encounter, the surroundings, the wood, his own lightheartedness, and then the wolf's appearance, its movements, the distance between himself and the wolf and so forth. All this, if only the boy when telling the story again experiences the feelings he has lived through, and infects the hearers and compels them to feel what he has experienced—is art. Even if the boy had not seen a wolf but had frequently been afraid of one, and if, in wishing to evoke in others the fear he had felt, he invented an encounter with a wolf and recounted it so as to make his hearers share the feelings he experienced when he feared the wolf, that also would be art. And just in the same way it is art if a man, having experienced either the fear of suffering or the attraction of enjoyment (whether in reality or in imagination), expresses these feelings on canvas or marble so that others are infected by them. And it is also art if a man feels or imagines to himself, feelings of delight, gladness, sorrow, despair, courage or despondency, and the transition from one to another of these feelings, and expresses them by sounds so that the hearers are infected by them and experience them as they were experienced by the composer. (p. 122. *The World's Classics*.)

"Again if only the spectators or auditors are infected by the feelings which the author has felt, it is art.

"To evoke in oneself a feeling one has once experienced and having evoked it in oneself then by means of movements, lines, colours, sounds or forms expressed in words, so to transmit that feeling that others experience the same feeling—this is the activity of art.

"Art is a human activity consisting in this, that one man consciously by means of certain external signs, hands on to others feelings he has lived through, and that others are infected by these feelings and experience them. (p. 123. *The World's Classics.*)

"If a man is infected with the author's condition of soul, if he feels this emotion and this union with others, then the object which has effected this is art..... And not only is infection a sure sign of art, but the degree of infectiousness is also the sole measure of excellence in art.

"The stronger the infection, the better is the art." (p. 228.)

It will be clear from the rather lengthy quotation made above that, according to one of the greatest modern thinkers on art, art, and particularly poetry, is the medium by which the poet communicates his feelings to his auditors. In other words, the poet is filled with the feelings evoked in him by the men and incidents that he has experienced actually in the world or only in his vivid imagination, and he feels also an inner urge to give expression to these feelings in a composition which infects the reader with the very same feelings which the poet himself has lived through. And such a creation is poetry.

Many centuries before Tolstoy, the same view of the rise of poetry found its expression in the very first of our classical poets—Vālmiki. The Śloka metre in Sanskrit has its origin in an incident in the life of Vālmiki which reveals also his view of the rise of poetry. The incident as related in the second canto of the Bālakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* runs thus: When Vālmiki went out to collect sacrificial wood and grass, he saw a happy pair of Kṛauñca birds, singing merrily on the branch of a tree. The male bird was suddenly shot dead with an arrow by a hunter. The merciful sage witnessed the innocent male bird weltering on the ground in his own blood. The bird who was bereaved of her loving mate, being vaguely conscious of the untold sufferings in store for her, sent forth a shriek of terror and agony; and at once the heart of the sage was smitten with a deep feeling of pity for her grief; and the intense pathos of the situation that filled his heart flowed out spontaneously in the form of that first Śloka in Sanskrit Mā niṣāda etc.

ततः करुणवेदित्वादधर्मोऽयमिति द्विजः ।

निशाम्य रुदतीं क्रौञ्चीमिदं वचनमब्रवीत् ॥

मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।

यत् क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम् ॥ Bāla. II. 14-15.

“As you have killed, O hunter! one of the passionately loving pair of Krauñca birds, may you not live happily for many years.” Vālmiki was struck with wonder at this first outburst of measured poetry; and he put to himself this question: What is this strange expression of measured poetry by me who never before wrote or even thought of such a verse? What is it that has occasioned this singular, free and almost involuntary flow of verse? And Vālmiki, through deep introspection and analysis of the state of his mind at the time of its utterance, discovered for this mystery a solution which he gave out to his pupils in these words:

पादबद्धोऽक्षरसमस्तन्त्रीलयसमन्वितः ।

शोकार्तस्य प्रवृत्तो मे श्लोको भवतु नान्यथा ॥ Bāla. II. 18.

“That which emanated from me who was smitten with grief and whose heart was filled with the pathos of the incident that I witnessed, shall be no other than measured, musical poetry.” In other words, the wallowing of the dying bird in a pool of blood and the shrill shriek of terror and agony of the surviving female bird seized Vālmiki’s imagination so forcefully and completely that they stirred his instinct of pathos to its very depths and raised it to a climax of emotion. And in a tense state of excitement Vālmiki realized to the exclusion of everything else this deep, intense feeling of pathos. This intense feeling of pathos by its very intensity has purged itself of the associations of pain felt in ordinary experience and has translated itself spontaneously in the verse Mā niṣāda etc.

This discovery of a solution to the question—what is it that induces the rise of poetry—makes us recognise in the poet Vālmiki a critic. He is no doubt a poet, as he visualises the various situations, enters into the feelings of the characters and probes the depths of the human heart and lays bare in his *Rāmāyaṇa* the innermost secrets of the soul. He is a critic as he realizes that it is the feelings roused by the situations, characters etc., that find relief in a song. And according to Vālmiki, poetry is the spontaneous expression of an intense feeling of pathos; and what is poetic inspiration but a certain climax of emotion finding an outlet in rhythmic language?

One may question the authenticity of the view of Vālmiki on the origin of poetry, on the basis of the conclusions of modern research. Scholars are of opinion that Kāṇḍas two to six and a part of the first alone form the *Rāmāyaṇa* actually composed by Vālmiki and that the rest of the *Rāmāyaṇa* including the second chapter of the Bālakāṇḍa, on which our remarks are based, represents a later addition. But whoever may have been the author of the second chapter of the Bālakāṇḍa, the fact that it is the record of a genuine tradition concerning an incident in the life of Vālmiki is borne out by an authority of no less antiquity and eminence than the greatest poet of India—Kālidāsa. Says he in the *Raghuvamśa*:

तामभ्यगच्छद्भुदितानुसारी कविः कुशेष्माहरणाय यातः ।

निषादविद्वाण्डजदर्शनोत्थः श्लोकत्वमापद्यत यस्य शोकः ॥ XIV. 70.

The context is this: Sītā was left alone in the forest by Lakṣmaṇa who had already communicated to her his brother's dreadful command about her repudiation and Sītā cried aloud cursing her fate. Just then Vālmiki, the merciful sage, who had gone out to collect sacrificial wood and grass heard the cry and proceeding in the direction from which it arose approached Sītā—

तामभ्यगच्छद्भुदितानुसारी कविः कुशेष्माहरणाय यातः ।

Note the manner in which Vālmiki is referred to—Kaviḥ, the poet *par excellence*. And who was that poet?

निषादविद्वाण्डजदर्शनोत्थः श्लोकत्वमापद्यत यस्य शोकः ॥

He whose grief shaped itself into a song, the grief that arose in him as he saw a bird shot dead by a hunter. He is the merciful sage whose heart was stirred to its depths at the sight of the pathetic bereavement of even a bird; and how much more should the sage have felt at the sad plight of Sītā, to whom Rāma was lost for ever. The analogy of the Krauñca incident to Sītā's exile which marks the climax of the dominant feeling of the *Rāmāyaṇa* must have greatly appealed to Kālidāsa, and as he was narrating the most pathetic incident in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, namely Sītā's repudiation and Vālmiki's meeting her, the poet's mind naturally flew at once to a similar incident in the life of Vālmiki which was the occasion for the spontaneous flow of poetry. I fully believe that the name Kaviḥ and the latter half of the verse are employed by the poet deliberately.

for, I ask, in what way would the narrative or the actual description of that particular incident suffer, if the word Muni were to be substituted for Kavi and if the latter half of the verse were to be completely omitted ?

तामभ्यगच्छद्भुदितानुसारी मुनिः कुशेध्माहरणाय यातः ।

तमश्रु नेत्रावरणं प्रमृज्य सीता विलापाद्विरता ववन्दे ॥ (71)

It proves clearly that Kālidāsa desired to record the tradition that he fully believed in, namely that it was in an inspired moment and in a state of tense excitement that Vālmiki's feelings found expression in poetry. He believed that it was in a similar state of inspiration and excitement far more intense and lasting that the Kavi, the poet *par excellence*, expressed his feelings in the poem in which is immortalised the story of Rāma and Sītā. And Kālidāsa's utterance is but an echo of what the Creator said to Vālmiki after this Krauñca incident.

शोचन्नेव मुहुः क्रौञ्चीमुपश्लोकमिमं पुनः ।

जगावन्तर्गतमना भूत्वा शोकपरायणः ॥

तमुवाच ततो ब्रह्मा प्रहसन् मुनिपुङ्गवम् ।

श्लोक एव त्वया बद्धो नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥

मच्छन्दादेव ते बह्वन् प्रवृत्तेयं सरस्वती ।

रामस्य चरितं कृत्स्नं कुरु त्वम् ऋषिसत्तम ॥ Bāla. II. 29-31.

"It was out of my supreme will that this measured speech sprang from you." In other words, it was when Vālmiki realized the divine in him that poetry flowed out of his lips. And Vālmiki is commanded to write the story of Rāma and is blessed with the 'vision and the faculty divine'.

रहस्यं च प्रकाशं च यद्वृत्तं तस्य धीमतः ।

रामस्य सहसौमित्रेः राक्षसानां च सर्वशः ॥

वैदेह्याश्चैव यद्वृत्तं प्रकाशं यदि वा रहः ।

तच्चाप्यविदितं सर्वं विदितं ते भविष्यति ॥ Bāla. II. 33-34.

The above lines say that through divine-grace Vālmiki will have insight into the hidden springs of the actions of all the characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. What is the significance of this statement ? It is that Vālmiki had nothing short of a divine intuition when he composed the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Otherwise it would not have been possible for him to have composed the great epic. In

other words, all great poetry emanates only in a state of divine inspiration.

यद्यद्विभूतिमत्सत्त्वं श्रीमदूर्जितमेव वा ।

तत्तदेवावगच्छ त्वं मम तेजोऽशशम्भवम् ॥ Bha. gītā. X. 41.

“Whatever is great, O Arjuna, know that to be a part of my splendour.” As though conscious of this divine inspiration, the poet has prophesied to the world the eternal and universal appeal of the *Rāmāyaṇa*:—

यावत् स्थास्यन्ति गिरयः सरितश्च महीतले ।

तावद्रामायणकथा लोकेषु प्रचरिष्यति ॥ Bāla. II. 36.

And this prophecy unlike similar prophecies has been proved true by the verdict of Time.

Now what is Vālmiki's reply to the question—What is art? or in a restricted sphere, what is poetry? That is poetry where the poet gives expression to the feelings which any event kindles in him. How is this related to the view of Tolstoy? Tolstoy says that the poet is first moved by the feelings roused by some event and he expresses those feelings in what is called a work of art which in turn infects the auditor with those very same feelings. Vālmiki's view is identical with Tolstoy's in this respect, namely that it is the feelings of the poet that find expression in a composition. Vālmiki omitted to say that this composition in turn infects the hearer with the same feelings that have occasioned its origin. This may be implied in the former half of the view expressed by Vālmiki, but it must be admitted that the actual words of Vālmiki do not warrant the assumption of such an implication.

The other aspect of the conception of poetry, namely, that it should infect the hearers with the feelings of the poet, is not at all foreign to Sanskrit poetics, and we may even say that it runs through the very heart of Sanskrit criticism. We have only to consider for a moment the meaning of the name given to a critic in Sanskrit—*Sahṛdaya*—. It is explained thus by Abhinavagupta:

येषां काव्यानुशीलनाभ्यासवशाद् विशदीभूते मनोमुकुरे वर्णनीय-
तन्मयीभवनयोग्यता ते हृदयसंवादभाजः सद्ब्रह्मदयाः ।

"They are Sahṛdayas whose minds, by the constant study of poetry, become as transparent as a mirror and acquire the capacity to reflect within themselves the true image of what is expressed in a composition and whose minds have become attuned as it were to that of the poet." In other words, when a person is constantly engaged in the pursuit of poetry, his mind acquires the capacity of easy, quick and complete understanding; and his mind develops also a keen responsiveness to feelings from without. By his imaginative sympathy, he loses his personality for the time being by identifying himself with what is described; and his mind attains a complete harmony with that of the poet. Those whose minds have attained this complete agreement—Hṛdaya saṁvāda or complete attunement of mind with that of the poet are Sahṛdayas. When it is said that the mind of the poet and that of the critic are attuned to each other, what does it mean except this? The critic or the intelligent reader of a poem has the same experience as the poet himself had when he composed the poem. In other words, the reader experiences the same feelings that the poet himself lived through, or the reader is infected with the feelings of the poet. It is said "Art is the expression of aesthetic experience." Art has a twofold purpose: from the poet's point of view, 'it is to transform his experience into expression'. From the recipient's point of view, 'it is to transform his experience into experience'. Thus the artist transfers his experience to the recipient. The one without the other does not and cannot exist. They are only the obverse and the reverse of a coin. Therefore the poet's purpose does not end with the mere recording of his experience; it is fulfilled only when this experience is received by the critic. And the critic is a critic only when he receives this experience of the poet through his poem. Thus the poet and the critic together represent the one entity revealed through poetry. Truly has Abhinavagupta invoked thus:—

‘सरस्वत्यास्तत्त्वं कविसहृदयारूपं विजयतात्’ Locana, p. 1.

May that one reality, truth or essence—Tattva—of all noble utterance called Kavi-Sahṛdaya, poet-critic, prosper! Appropriately indeed has this inseparable union of poet and critic been compared to Ardhanārīśvara by my *Guru*—Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppaswami Sastri—in the opening verse of his *Upalocana*:—

परस्परसमास्वादप्रथमानसतत्त्वयोः ।

कविताबुधयोर्योगं नमामि शिवयोर्यथा ॥

With deep insight and experience, Tolstoy says: "The chief peculiarity of this feeling is that the recipient of a truly artistic impression is so united to the artist that he feels as if the work were his own and not some one else's—as if what it expresses were just what he has long been wishing to express." (p. 228.)

Now what is our position at this stage regarding the question: what is poetry? That is poetry by which the reader is infected with the feelings of the poet and is one with him. Now, a further question may be raised: How is the reader to be infected with the feelings of the poet? Or how does the poet communicate his feeling or aesthetic experience to the reader? What is the activity of the poet in achieving his purpose or end of communicating his feeling to the reader?

This has been satisfactorily answered, I believe, by the theory of *Rasa* put forward by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* and fully expounded by his followers, particularly Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. It is stated in a nutshell in the *Sūtra* of Bharata:—

विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः ।

The terms *Vibhāva*, *Anubhāva*, *Vyabhicāribhāva*, *Sthāyibhāva* and *Rasa* require elucidation.

I. *Rasa*.

Rasa primarily means the aesthetic pleasure or joy that an intelligent and responsive audience experiences when witnessing a drama enacted by highly talented actors, or the joy experienced in reading a great poem or a moving story. This is almost the same as the experience of the feeling which, as Tolstoy says, the reader is infected with. And whatever may be the nature of the feeling in the ordinary experience of the world, in poetry its realization is always pleasant.

II. *Sthāyibhāva*.

Sthāyibhāvas are the permanent instinctive impressions of the different emotions or feelings such as Love, Pathos, Humour, Heroism, Anger, Fear etc. We believe in the immortality of the soul and the doctrine of transmigration. Every infant, as it is born, has within it the instinctive impres-

sions, though vague, of experiences in previous births. For, otherwise, why does the newborn babe suck its mother's milk? Whoever has taught the child that by sucking the milk, its life will be sustained? Every infant has indeed all the potentialities of the fully developed man, lying dormant. That is why probably even our Smṛtikāras apply this view to practical life and lay down the principle of Hindu law that the infant son acquires a right to inherit the property of his father even ten months before he ever sees the light of day. Modern psychologists also say that the child is a bundle of instincts. And these instincts or instinctive impressions respond or react to outside influences. The postulate of the existence of these instinctive impressions of emotions or emotional states is firmly based. Among these, the permanent and universal emotional states are eight or nine—Love, Grief, Heroism, Anger, Fear, Humour etc. These permanent emotional states are called in Sanskrit Sthāyibhāvas.

In ordinary worldly experience, these permanent emotional moods are called forth and kindled by certain causes such as—in the case of Love—the object of one's love and by certain excitants like the spring, moonlight etc.; they are developed by certain visible effects of love such as the sportive movement of the eyebrow, sidelong glances etc.; they are also intensified by certain fugitive, accessory feelings that do not endure long, such as anxiety, doubt, langour etc., and then comes the final stage—the fulfilment of love. As these very same causes, effects and accessory feelings of the emotional states pass through the crucible of the creative genius of the poet, and appear newly fashioned in a poem or a play they acquire the new names, Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Vyabhicāribhāvas respectively.

Let me now illustrate them from a well-known play, the Śākuntalā. Vibhāvas are of two kinds: Ālambana and Uddīpana. Ālambanas are the objects of emotional states. As regards Love which is the dominant Rasa, Śākuntalā is the *Ālambana* of Duṣyanta's love, and Duṣyanta, of Śākuntalā's.

असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा यदार्यमस्यामभिलाषि मे मनः ।

सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ॥ I. 20.

“Undoubtedly this Śākuntalā is fit to be the wife of a Kṣatriya, since my noble heart longs for her; in matters of doubt, the disposition of the minds is, to the good, an unerring guide.”

Here Duṣyanta is struck with the beauty of Śakuntalā, but being the custodian of law he, a Kṣātriya, naturally thinks of the obstacle in the way of his desire, namely that Śakuntalā might be the daughter of the Brahmin sage and hence could not be married by him, a Kṣātriya. But his love sways him and he really wishes that she were born to the sage by a woman of a different caste:—

अपि नाम कुलपतेरियमसवर्णक्षेत्रसम्भवा स्यात् । Act. I.

At once he casts away his doubt saying that he can marry her, in the assurance that his pure, just and loving heart is set on her. This represents the Ālambana of Duṣyanta's love. On the side of Śakuntalā also there is the same natural springing of love expressed by the poet thus:

शकुन्तला—(आत्मगतम्) किं नु खल्विमं प्रेक्ष्य तपोवनविरोधिनो
विकारस्य गमनीयास्मि संवृत्ता ।

“(To herself) How is it, indeed, that on seeing this person, (Duṣyanta), I have become susceptible to an emotion inconsistent with life in the penance forest ?” This represents the Ālambana of Śakuntalā's love.

Uddīpana-Vibhāvas, as I said, are the excitants of love. The gentle breeze blowing, Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta meet under the cool shade of the penance grove which abounds in beautiful creepers, plants, flowers etc. This again may be illustrated thus: When Śakuntalā is intently gazing at the Navamālīkā creeper full of flowers, which has been christened by her Vanajyotsnā, and which has grown over the mango tree, her friends indulge in this conversation:

प्रियंवदा—अनसूये ! जानासि, किं शकुन्तला वनज्योत्स्नाम् अतिमात्रं
पश्यतीति ?

“Anasūya, do you know why Śakuntalā is looking so very attentively at Vanajyotsnā ?”

अनसूया—न खलु विभावयामि; कथय ।

“No, I cannot conceive it; pray tell me.”

प्रियंवदा—यथा वनज्योत्स्ना अनुरूपेण पादपेन सङ्गता, अपि नास्मैव-
महमपि आत्मनोऽनुरूपं वरं लभेयेति ।

“As Vanajyotsnā clings to a tree worthy of it, so may I, too,

शकुन्तला—एष नूनं तवान्तर्गतो मनोरथः ।

“Certainly this must be the desire of your own heart.”

This occurs before Śakuntalā meets the king. If indeed the beauty of Nature should rouse such thoughts of love in the heart of the unsophisticated girl of the hermitage who has all along been only in the company of her friends, how much more an excitant of love would that pleasant garden be in the presence of her lover!

III. Anubhāvas are certain outward manifestations of feelings or the ensuants and the effects of love. For example, consider the verse:—

दर्भाङ्कुरेण चरणः क्षत इत्यकाण्डे

तन्वी स्थिता कतिचिदेव पदानि गत्वा ।

आसीद्विवृत्तवदना च विमोचयन्ती

शाखासु बल्ललमसक्तमपि द्रुमाणाम् ॥ II. 12.

As Śakuntalā departs after her first meeting with Duṣyanta, she behaves as described in the above verse. Duṣyanta says in Act II thus:

“Having gone only a few steps, the slim lady suddenly stopped, feigning that her foot was pricked by a blade of *darbha*; and she stood with her face turned (towards me) pretending to disentangle her bark garment, though it was not caught in the branches of the plants.” Here the stealing of a glance at her lover is the visible manifestation of Śakuntalā’s love—Anubhāva.

IV. Vyabhicāribhāvas are certain accessory and evanescent feelings that come and go. They are many and a few may be illustrated here: Glāni or emaciation or langour, Nirveda or melancholy, Jaḍatā or dullness, Śaṅkā or doubt and fear and Harṣa or gladness.

Glāni Śak. III:

प्रियंवदा—सखि शकुन्तले ! सुष्ठु एषा भणति । किमात्मन आतङ्कमुपेक्षसे ।

अनुदिवसं खलु परिहीयसेऽङ्गैः । केवलं लावण्यमयी छाया त्वां न मुञ्चति ।

राजा—क्षामक्षामकपोलमाननं etc.

Priyamvadā: “Friend, Anasūya speaks well; why do you neglect the affliction of your mind? Day by day, you are becoming emaciated; only the glow of loveliness does not leave you.”

The King: "Truly said; for her face and her cheeks have grown thin; her complexion is pale etc."

प्रियंवदा—ननु स राजर्षिरस्यां स्निग्धदृष्ट्या सूचिताभिलाषः एतान् दिवसान् प्रजागरकृशो लक्ष्यते ।

Pri.: "Indeed, that royal sage whose affectionate looks indicate his longing for her looks lean nowadays on account of sleeplessness."

2. Nirveda: melancholy or despondency:

शकुन्तला—सखि ! यतः प्रभृति मम दर्शनपथमागतः स तपोवनरक्षिता राजर्षिः, तत आरभ्य तद्गतेन अभिलाषेण एतदवस्थास्मि संबृत्ता । तद्यदि वामनुमतं तथा वर्तेथां यथा तस्य राजर्षेरनुकम्पनीया भवामि । अन्यथा सिञ्चतं मे तिलोदकम् ।

Śakuntalā: "Friend, ever since that royal sage, defender of the penance grove, came within the range of my sight, on account of my longings for him I have been reduced to this state. So if you approve of it, do that by which I may be pitied by the royal sage; or else, offer me the sesame-mixed water" i.e. look upon me as dead.

3. Jaḍatā: dullness.

सख्यौ—हला शकुन्तले ! अपि सुखायते ते नलिनीपत्रवातः ?

शकुन्तला—किं वीजयतो मां सख्यौ ?

The Friends: "Śakuntalā, does the breeze from the fan of the lotus-leaf soothe you."

Śakuntalā: "What ! Are my friends fanning me?"

4. Śaṅkā: doubt and fear of repulse.

When Śakuntalā is advised by her friends to think of a love-letter which they offer to deliver into the hands of Duṣyanta, concealed in flowers under the pretext of bestowing on him the favour of the deity, Śakuntalā says:

हला चिन्तयाम्यहम् । अवधीरणाभीरु वेपते मे हृदयम् ।

'Friend, I shall think; but my heart trembles, afraid of a repulse.'

5. Harṣa or gladness:

At once the king expresses his delight to himself thus:

अयं स ते तिष्ठति सङ्गमोत्सुको

विशङ्कसे भीरु यतोऽवधीरणाम् ।

लभेत वा प्रार्थयिता न वा श्रियं

श्रिया दुरापः कथमीप्सितो भवेत् ॥ III. 12.

“Here stands he, longing for union with you from whom, Oh timid one! you fear a repulse. He who seeks Lakṣmī may or may not attain her, but can that person sought by Lakṣmī be inaccessible to her?”

It will be seen that all the feelings illustrated above last only for a while and are not enduring; and all of them achieve the one purpose of intensifying the permanent emotional state,—here Love or Rati. This fact of the changing nature of the Vyabhicāribhāvas which feed the main emotion finds apt expression in Kālidāsa. It is expressed in the Parivrājikā's appreciation of Mālavikā's dance:—

अङ्गैरन्तर्निहितवचनैः सूचितः सम्यगर्थः

पादन्यासो लयमनुगतस्तन्मयत्वं रसेषु ।

शाखायोनिर्मृदुरभिनयस्तद्विकल्पानुवृत्तौ

भावो भावं नुदति विषयाद्रागबन्धः स एव ॥ II. 8.

Here for our present purpose it would be enough if we pay our attention to the last line alone. It means: In the successive stages of the acting, each emotion arising as it does from its source—the Sthāyibhāva, yields place to every successive wave of emotion; still the interest is the same: This will be clear if we consider the following verse of which the above is her appreciation.

दुर्लभः प्रियस्तस्मिन् भव हृदय निराशं

अहो अपाङ्गको मे प्रस्फुरति किमपि वामकः ।

एष स चिरदृष्टः कथमुपनेतव्यः

नाथ मां पराधीनां त्वयि गणय सत्पुणाम् ॥

Here Mālavikā is singing and expressing the ideas contained in this verse by appropriate gestures. It has been translated thus:—“My lover is difficult to obtain; Oh my heart, cherish no hopes about him. Oh ! the outer corner of my left eye throbs on some account or other; here is he seen after a long time; how is he to be approached? My lord, know me, in this, my state of dependence, to be ardently longing for thee ! Here Mālavikā is giving an indirect expression to her love for the king, and in fact

this is an indirect address to the king, Agnimitra. In the first line 'My lover is difficult to obtain; Oh my heart, cherish no hopes about him', there is the feeling of despair or despondency—Nirveda. In the second line 'Oh, the outer corner of my left eye throbs on some account or other' there is gladness coupled with wonder; for, the throbbing of the left eye augurs something good for women; hence there is wonder, for she does not know what good fortune awaits her; and there is gladness at the thought that it might be the fulfilment of her hopes. In the third line 'here is he seen after a long time; how is he to be approached' is indicated 'cintā' or anxiety, in finding the means for the fulfilment of her desire. In the fourth line 'My lord, know me, in this, my state of dependence, to be ardently longing for thee' there is *dainya* or dejection as she is not mistress of herself. It will be clear from this that every one of these feelings gives place to every other successive feeling in turn, all of them rooted in the one permanent emotional state: love. And the pleasure derived continues to be the same.

‘भावो भावं नुदति विषयाद्रागबन्धः स एव’ अभिनीयमानो भावः,
विषयात् स्थायिनः, पूर्वभिनीतं भावं नुदति, अपाकरोति । रञ्जकत्वयोगस्तु
तादृश एव । *Commentary.* (Sri Vani Vilas Edn.)

These transient feelings are called Vyabhicāri or Sañcāribhāvas.

When the Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Vyabhicāribhāvas appropriate to the emotional state or Sthāyibhāva—here love—are portrayed in a poem or are represented on the stage by talented actors aided by costume, scenes, music etc., what happens is this. The dormant emotional state of the audience, *viz.*, love, is called forth, kindled, and intensified to such a climax that the audience, through their imaginative sympathy lose themselves, forget all differences of person, time and place and completely attune themselves to what is portrayed or represented. And this climax of emotion reveals itself in a sort of blissful consciousness. This bliss is *Rasa*.

Now in the realization of this *Rasa* a question may be asked, whose feeling is it that is realized? Is it of the characters, the poet, the actors or the audience? Writers on Poetics say that a unification of the feelings of all these is effected in the performance of a play, though of course the feeling of the actors has no place in a poem. The feelings of the characters are first experi-

enced by the poet in his imagination and his experience of them is communicated through the poem to the readers who again have a similar experience. Thus the feelings of all are united and at the final stage, it is the feelings of the audience or the reader that are realized in a state of bliss.

Thus it will be seen that the aim of all poetry is the realization of this *Rasa*—call it by any name, bliss, joy or aesthetic pleasure. And the activity of the poet consists in the selection, representation and harmonious blending of such *Vibhāvas*, *Anubhāvas* and *Vyabhicāribhāvas* as would lend themselves most naturally and invariably to the development and realization of this *Rasa*. Says Mahimabhaṭṭa in his *Vyaktiviveka*, p. 20.

कविव्यापारो हि विभावादिसंयोजनात्मा रसाभिव्यक्त्यव्यभिचारी
काव्यमुच्यते ।

All the features of a work of art—whether a poem or a play—the unity of the ‘fable’ or plot, the progress of the action, the greatness of the greater, their characters truth to life, the different styles, diction, poetic qualities, figures of speech, metres etc., must tend only towards the unity of atmosphere or impression or the *Rasa* as we call it. And every one of the characteristics of poetry mentioned above must be related to and directed towards the realization of *Rasa*. And if critics were to say that they had seen the very soul of poetry in the numerous poetic excellences mentioned above either severally or in combination, without any reference whatever to the unity of impression or *Rasa*, they would be only reminding us of the familiar fable of the ‘Seven Blind Men and the Elephant.’

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THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI—CHRONOLOGY.

BY

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There were several ruling families in Southern India who claimed to belong to the Yādava family, but the Seuṇa or Sēvaṇa family has come to be particularly associated with this name. The history of the Seuṇa family goes back right into the middle of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule. But it was only in the time of Bhīllama that the Yādavas came into some importance. It was in Bhīllama's reign that the city of Devagiri was built, although it does not seem to have attained prominence as the capital city till the reign of Siṅghaṇa.

The initial date of the founder's rule is usually a point of considerable obscurity in the history of any new dynasty. In this case, although the Seuṇas were no new dynasty, and had already ruled as the feudatories of the Western Cālukyas, it is difficult to say when exactly Bhīllama threw off the yoke and asserted independence. It is futile to look for any formal announcement or positive indication for the establishment of sovereignty by a feudatory prince when he grows independent. The constitutional position of feudatories in Medieval India is quite different from what the term connotes at the present day; and so it is essential to remember at the outset that feudatories at that time generally enjoyed great powers and ruled their territories in virtual independence. They could even make war or conclude peace with foreign powers, without any reference to the central power, especially if the central power happened to be weak. So the change from a state of nominal subordination to one of independence is very slight and merely formal. Such was the position of the Yādavas towards the end of the Western Cālukya regime. It is needless to go into details as to the various factors underlying the downfall of the Western Cālukyan power and the rise of the independent Devagiri kingdom. But we may note briefly that the Yādavas, even like the Kākatīyas and the Hoysālas, were occupying a somewhat anomalous posi-

tion in the Western Cālukya kingdom during the Kalacuri interregnum. Bhillama's father Mallugi fought against Vijjana who was obviously the Kalacuri usurper Bijjala, and the resuscitation of the Cālukyan rule by Someśvara IV does not seem to have instilled any greater spirit of loyalty into the hearts of these Yādavas, any more than it did in the case of the Hoysālas. No doubt it was actually the Hoysāla ruler Vīra-Bhallāla that took the field against his sovereign Someśvara and his general Bomma. But the Yādavas were not slow to take advantage of the excellent opportunity now afforded, and soon carved out an independent kingdom for themselves. The last date of Vīra-Someśvara so far known is Śaka 1111, that is A. D. 1189. We have inscriptions of Bhillama even before that date which have been issued without any mention of his sovereign. The *Sūkti-muktāvalī* states that Bhillama 'led a maddened elephant skilfully into the army of the Gurjara king, struck terror into the heart of Malla, frightened the forces of Mallugi, and put an end to the victorious career of Muñja and Anna.'¹ Hemādri adds that 'he captured a town of the name of Śrīvardhana from a king who is called Antala, vanquished in battle Pratyāṇḍaka, put to death the ruler of Maṅgaḷaveṣṭaka of the name of Billana, and having obtained the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa put to death the lord of Hosala.'² It is not necessary here to discuss the merits of these claims. But it is essential to note here that whether each individual claim for distinction be justifiable or not, Bhillama, as the founder of a new independent kingdom, must have had a lot of trouble which would have engaged his attention for a longer period of time than four years usually assigned to his rule. However, as already pointed out, it is futile to base the date of the beginning of his independent rule even on the independent nature of his foreign policy. Nor is there any greater justification to reckon the commencement of his rule from the date of the building of the city of Devagiri, some time 'about the Śaka year 1109.' The building of this capital city must have been the culmination of his victorious career and not the commencement.

Even a study of his inscriptions does not help us to fix the initial date of his reign with any certainty. There are 10 ins-

1. *Vide* Early History of the Dekkan, by R. G. Bhandarkar, Third Edition, p. 184 f.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

criptions of Bhillama available so far, only two of which give the full details of the date. A third inscription from Halluru is damaged, and has lost the name of the month. But judging from the synchronism of the date and the *tithi* it must be either *adhika-Śrāvaṇa* or *Mārgaśīra*. The dates of these three inscriptions are as follows:—

(1) Inscription from Muttigi,¹ Bagevadi taluk, Bijapur district. Dated 8th regnal year, Paridhāvi, Śrāvaṇa śu. Punnami, Thursday. The date does not work out satisfactorily, since Punnami fell on a Sunday and not on a Thursday in that month. The Department of Epigraphy suggests that the name of the year is probably a mistake for Pramādi. If the suggestion is accepted, the date works out satisfactorily, and corresponds to Thursday, the 15th of July, A.D. 1193.

(2) Inscription from Annigeri,² Navalgund taluk, Dharwar district. Dated 3rd regnal year, Saumya, Puṣya ba. Amāvāsyā, Monday, Uttarāyaṇa saṅkrānti, Vyatipāta. The saṅkrānti did not fall on Puṣya Amāvāsyā, but on Puṣya ba. Pādyami. The date then corresponds to Monday the 25th of December, A.D. 1189.

(3) Inscription from Halluru,³ Muddabihal taluk, Bijapur district. Dated 2nd regnal year, Kilakā, Amāvāsyā, Monday, Vyatipāta. In that year Amāvāsyā fell on Monday in two months, namely *adhika-Śrāvaṇa* and *Mārgaśīra*. The date should therefore correspond either to the 25th of June, A.D. 1188, or the 19th December, A.D. 1188 respectively.

Calculating on the basis of the assumption that regnal years given are current, we find that the Annigere and the Halluru inscriptions agree in fixing A. D. 1187 as the initial year of the rule of Bhillama. To be precise, his reign must have commenced on some day not earlier than the 26th of December, A.D. 1186, and not later than the 19th of December, A.D. 1187. The later limit might be pushed farther back and fixed as the 25th of July, A. D. 1187 if we accept *adhika-Śrāvaṇa* as the month intended. But the Muttigi inscription does not agree with the above conclusion, and it gives a date about one year earlier than the above, even if we accept the suggestion of the Department of

1. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 108 of 1930.

2. *Ibid.*, 192 of 1929.

3. *Ibid.*, 18 of 1930.

Epigraphy. If we accept the date as given in the inscription, it would assign the beginning of his reign to some period between A. D. 1184 and A. D. 1185.

The discrepancy is easily understood if we remember that there seems to have been some trouble in connection with Bhillama's accession to power. Hemādri says,¹

महीपतेस्तस्य विहाय पुत्रान् गुणानुरक्ता यदुवंशलक्ष्मीः ।

श्रीभिच्छ्रमं तस्य ततः पितृव्यमव्याजराजद्भुजमाजगाम ॥

It is clear that Bhillama wrested the power from its rightful owners, and that none too easily, since after his eldest brother, Amaragāṅgeya, his son Govindarāja, Bhillama's second brother Amaramallugi, and then Ballāla (probably Amaramallugi's son), all ruled before he came to power. It is not likely that Bhillama, if he had really coveted the throne, would have sat by watching his brothers and nephews come to the throne one after the other, until he was quite old, and then suddenly set out on a career of conquest. He might have been loyal to the throne during the reign of his elder brother Amaragāṅgeya, and his son Govindarāja. Perhaps he was quite young at that time. It is not clear why this line did not continue, what led to the accession of Amaramallugi, and what actually were the relations between Amaramallugi and Bhillama. Jalhana says that Bhillama frightened the forces of a certain person called Mailugi². Who was this Mailugi? Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that "he probably belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family."³ We do not know of the existence of any such 'minor' branch of the Yādava family; but it seems probable that this Mailugi was no other than Amaramallugi, from whose grand-children Bhillama wrested the Yādava power. It is clear therefore that Bhillama's fortune was not secured at a single stroke, and that although he usually reckoned the commencement of his reign from about A. D. 1187, there might have been some important incident which served as some slight basis for giving an earlier date for the commencement of his

1. Introduction to Vrata-khaṇḍa, v. 37.

2. *Vide* Introduction of Jalhana's Sūktimuktāvalī, v. 13, quoted in Early History of the Dekkan, p. 185. The actual wording runs as follows:—

महः पल्लवितोरुभीतिरमितस्तद्वलो मैलुगिः ।

3. *Vide* Early History of the Dekkan, p. 185, fn. 4.

reign. The regnal year given in the Muttigi inscription is justifiable only on the basis of such an explanation.

Even the last date of Bhillama's reign does not admit of a definite decision. Both Fleet and Bhandarkar assign A. D. 1191 as the date of his death and the accession of his son Jaitrapāla. But apart from the Muttigi inscription dated the 15th of July, A. D. 1193 already quoted above, we have two inscriptions from Hippargi¹ and Bhairavadgi² to show that he must have ruled till the very end of the year A. D. 1191, and that his son could not have succeeded him earlier than A. D. 1192. The Bhairavadgi inscription is dated in Śaka 1114, Virodhikṛt, Puṣya śu. Aṣṭamī, Wednesday, Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti. The Saṅkramaṇa fell on the next day, but otherwise the date works out satisfactorily, and corresponds to Wednesday the 25th of December, A. D. 1191. Besides this inscription, we have the evidence of the Lokkigundi³ inscription itself dated in Śaka 1114 or A. D. 1192, which states that Jaitasimha was 'the right arm of Bhillama' in a certain battle⁴, and thus implicates that Bhillama

1. Dynasties of the Kanarese districts, by J. F. Fleet, 1892, p. 72.

2. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1 of 1931.

3. Indian Antiquary, Vol. II, p. 300.

4. This Jaitasimha is taken to be the same as Jaitugi, or Jaitrapāla, the son and successor of Bhillama. But there is no confirmatory evidence to show that Jaitugi was also called Jaitrasimha, and there is absolutely no other basis for such an identification, apart from the similarity in a part of the name. The manner in which Jaitasimha is referred to in the Gadag inscription does not show that he was Bhillama's son. The actual verse runs as follows:—

तस्यास्ति जैतसिंहाख्यः शक्तित्रयसमन्वितः ।

अतर्क्यविक्रमो मन्त्री मण्डलेश्वरवृश्चिकः ॥

(He has a minister called Jaitasimha, (who is) endowed with the three constituents of regal power; whose prowess was surpassing thought, and who was a scorpion to rulers of districts.)

There is nothing in the wording itself to suggest that he was Bhillama's son and heir-apparent. It is strange that such marked silence should have been observed regarding this important point, especially in the eloquent inscriptions of the enemies, the Hoysā-

was alive in A. D. 1192. It is even possible that Bhīllama himself took part in this campaign, although on account of his advanced age he could not have taken an active part. Bhīllama's Gadag inscription¹ dated the 23rd July, A. D. 1191 shows that he had come down south and was present at Gadag about the middle of A. D. 1191. Evidently it was the Yādavas that took the offensive this time, and the battle of Lokkigundi was the result of a vigorous defensive on the part of the Hoysālas.

An inscription of the Hoysāla king Narasimha II gives a graphic account of a battle between him and a certain Seṇṇ or Sevaṇa, whom he besieged and defeated at Soratur near Gadag, and pursued from there as far as Kṛṣṇavēṇṇā, 'where he slew him.'² Fleet opines that he was probably the commander-in-chief of Jaitugi's army³. It is clear that this incident formed part of the same campaign in which the Yādavas of Devagiri were defeated at Lokkigundi and lost Kuntala. An inscription of Ballāla II at Gadag dated the 21st or November, A. D. 1192 shows that all this region, which Bhīllama had acquired before A. D. 1191 (23rd June), was reconquered by Ballāla II before the latter date⁴. The reign of the Hoysāla king Narasimha II saw the recovery of all the lost territory by the Yādavas, and Narasimha II seems to have made absolutely no attempt to come north of the Tuṅgabhadra river. So this particular incident, namely the siege of Soratur by Narasimha and his victory over the Sevaṇa could have occurred only in his father's reign, about the same time that the battle of Lokkigundi was fought. It may be tentatively suggested that the forces of Devagiri were really in two

las, who would naturally have been anxious to make much of the defeat of the heir-apparent, if he really was the person. Besides there is a great inconsistency in stating that this "right arm of Bhīllama" was the same person as Jaitrapāla, who contented himself merely with the performance of a sacrifice and the burning of an effigy, without avenging his father's misfortunes and recovering lost territory from the Hoysālas. It seems probable that this Jaitasimha was only a mantrin or probably the commander-in-chief of Bhīllama, and was entrusted with the main charge of the expedition.

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 217 ff.
2. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 68.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
4. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 300.

divisions, the major part of them with Jaitasinha near Lokkigundi, and the other in Soratur under the command probably of Bhillama himself. Anyhow Bhillama must have received too severe a shock on account of this tragic defeat to survive for long after this. He probably died not long after, in A. D. 1192.

Very few inscriptions of Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla, Bhillama's successor, have come to light so far, and only one of them is dated. It is a stone inscription from Bijapur¹ and is dated in his 6th regnal year, Śaka 1118 (expired), Anala, Puṣya-māsa, corresponding to December, A. D. 1196. This would assign to his accession a date not later than December, A. D. 1191. There is an inscription of Bhillama himself dated the 25th of December, A. D. 1191.² It is not improbable that before setting out on his southern expedition Bhillama probably appointed his son as successor, which might have served as a cause for Jaitrapāla to reckon the period of his rule from that time, especially since Bhillama died not long after.

We know very little about the reign of Jaitrapāla, and even the date of his death is uncertain. It has been assumed on the basis of some of the records of Siṅghaṇa, that Siṅghaṇa came to the throne about A. D. 1210, and that Jaitrapāla must have therefore remained as the ruler till that time. But unfortunately the initial year of Siṅghaṇa's rule is itself a matter for considerable doubt, and needs to be thoroughly discussed.

Fleet opined that Siṅghaṇa came to the throne in Śaka 1131, the Śukla samvatsara, corresponding to A. D. 1209-1210.³ Bhandarkar places his accession a year later in Śaka 1132,⁴ corresponding to A. D. 1210-11. Since it is fairly definite from his own inscriptions and those of his successor, that he died and was succeeded by Kṛṣṇa in A. D. 1247, this gives Siṅghaṇa a reign of 38 years according to Fleet, and 37 years according to Bhandarkar. But there are several strong objections against the dates of both Fleet and Bhandarkar. Firstly, we have several inscriptions bearing the regnal years 39, 40, 42, 45 and 49. Since there are no inscriptions of Siṅghaṇa after A. D. 1247, and since we have definite evidence that Kṛṣṇa was ruling after that date, we can-

1. Carnata Desa Inscriptions.

2. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1 of 1931.

3. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 72.

4. Early History of the Dekkan, p. 187.

not possibly calculate the dates of these inscriptions with high regnal years on the basis of the initial years of the reign assigned to him by Fleet and Bhandarkar. Siṅghaṇa's last date cannot possibly be later than A. D. 1247, in which case his accession basing on the evidence of these inscriptions must have taken place much earlier than A.D. 1209-10, or A. D. 1210-11. The second important objection against the dates of Fleet and Bhandarkar is the existence of Siṅghaṇa's inscriptions with dates much earlier than A. D. 1209-10,¹ or 1210-11. It is not possible to suggest that nearly a dozen of these inscriptions are forgeries, and some explanation must be offered for the existence of such weighty evidence of a conflicting nature. A third important objection is in the fact that many of Siṅghaṇa's inscriptions bear regnal years on the basis of which we get an early date for his accession—a date earlier than that assigned by Fleet by about a decade. A fourth objection presents itself in explaining Siṅghaṇa's attack on the Silāhāra prince Bhoja,² and the conquest of the Silāhāra kingdom. The particular Bhoja referred to can only be Bhoja II, since the other Silāhāra prince of that name was nearly a century earlier than Siṅghaṇa's time. According to Fleet, this prince, Bhoja II, ruled between Śaka 1100 and 1131.³ But actually his inscriptions are available only up to Śaka 1115. Even admitting that Bhoja II was alive in A.D. 1127, as shown by a note at the end of the Śabdārṇava-candrikā of Somadeva, composed in that year, it looks as though Fleet was basing the last date of Bhoja II on the uncertain foundation of the date of Siṅghaṇa's accession. In the light of other weighty evidence it seems logical to conclude that Siṅghaṇa must have come to the throne much earlier than A. D. 1209 or 1210.

A careful scrutiny of 34 dated inscriptions of Siṅghaṇa giving both the regnal years and the usual details of the date reveals the fact that there are several dates for the commencement of Siṅghaṇa's reign. One inscription from Elevala⁴ (Shimoga

1. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 552 of 1915; 264 of 1928; 51 of 1929; and 55 of 1929.

2. Pāli, Sanskrit and Old Prākṛt Inscriptions, No. 112, 1-10-11.

3. *Vide* Genealogical table facing p. 104 in *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*.

4. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VIII, sb. 397.

district) dated 14th April, A. D. 1241, claims to be of the 49th year of Siṅghaṇa, which would place his accession some time between 15th April, A. D. 1192 and 14th May, A. D. 1193. Two inscriptions from Hebbal¹ and Badgi² dated 27th November, A. D. 1239 and 26th September, A. D. 1242 respectively, would place his accession some time between 28th November, A. D. 1197 and 26th November, A. D. 1198. As many as 9 inscriptions ranging in dates from A. D. 1208 to A. D. 1239, prove that Siṅghaṇa's accession must have taken place some time between 26th December, A. D. 1199 and 6th (or 19th) February, A. D. 1200. This date has in fact the largest number of inscriptions in its support. One inscription from Sarur,³ dated 27th June, A. D. 1211, narrowly misses falling into this group by indicating a date for his accession later than the above by at least 4 months. An inscription from Devarabetta⁴ in the Bellary district, and another from Mallur⁵ in Dharwar district, yield 1205-06 and 1206-07 respectively. Fleet's approximate date of 1208-09 is supported by 5 inscriptions which indicate a period of 7 months between 27th July, A. D. 1208 and 28th February, A. D. 1209, during which the accession could have taken place. Six inscriptions take it a little later, to a period between 26th December, A. D. 1209 and 13th March, A. D. 1210, while 5 other inscriptions seem to support Bhandarkar's contention by assigning his accession to a date in a period of 8 months between 11th July, A. D. 1210 and 4th March, A.D. 1211.

Roughly speaking, Siṅghaṇa's inscriptions can be divided into two classes from the point of view of the date of accession they assign. The first assigns a date between 26th December, A. D. 1199 and 6th (or 19th) February, A. D. 1200, and the second, a date between 27th July, A. D. 1208 and 4th March, A. D. 1211. No doubt there are several inscriptions indicating other dates, but most of the inscriptions fall into either of these two classes. It is obvious therefore that there were two different systems of reckoning the regnal years of Siṅghaṇa, which were both followed indiscriminately

1. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 89 of 1930.

2. *Ibid.*, 68 of 1929.

3. *Ibid.*, 62 of 1930.

4. *Ibid.*, 418 of 1915.

5. *Ibid.*, 154 of 1933.

throughout his reign. The mere existence of a few inscriptions of a king even before the accepted date of his accession is not a reliable proof of the inaccuracy of the accepted date. Such inscriptions can be explained as evidence of a struggle for accession, and the existence of a strong party in the kingdom ranging itself on the side of the future king. But if in addition to such inscriptions we find that a king had a definite system of reckoning his regnal years from a date nearly a decade earlier than the one usually assigned to his accession we cannot dismiss this fact as just an evidence of internal disputes, especially if we find no inscriptions of the predecessor during the period under question. Very few inscriptions of Jaitugi have come to light so far, and we have no definite evidence that he was even alive in the 13th Century A.D.

It is usually stated that Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla performed a man-sacrifice with the help of an effigy of the Kākaṭīya king Rudra, and out of compassion released Gaṇapati from prison and made him "the lord of the Āndhra country." If we accept this statement *in toto*, and also admit that Gaṇapati began his rule only about A. D. 1210, it follows that Jaitrapāla must have been alive at that time, that is A.D. 1210. But the Bahal inscription,¹ dated A. D. 1222-23, which is the earliest inscription to refer to this incident, does not warrant such a conclusion. The actual passage runs as follows:—

गणपतिं पतिमान्ध्रमुवो व्यधाद्युधि धृतं करुणात(व)रुणाश्रयः ।²

It clearly means that Jaitrapāla, this 'ocean of compassion' made Gaṇapati, lord of the Āndhra country. Though the phrase युधि धृतम् shows that he was imprisoned, perhaps Gaṇapati was not, in reality, captured at all, and after submitting to a hasty and unfavourable treaty, he returned home and got himself crowned, thus providing a basis for the exaggerated claims of the Yādavas.

In the absence of any activity on the part of Jaitrapāla in the 13th Century, it is but natural to conclude in the light of such striking evidence, that even if Jaitrapāla was alive he took no part in the administration, but left it entirely in the hands of Siṅghaṇa. It is probable that some such arrangement was

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 111 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 112, Vol. XII, p. 112.

in force till the close of the first decade of the 13th Century, when perhaps due to the death of Jaitugi, Siṅghaṇa became the sole ruler of the country. In such a case, it is possible to explain the two different systems of reckoning the regnal years, and we can understand how Siṅghaṇa himself could have allowed both the systems to be in practice. Such a practice of the heir-apparent associating himself with the administration of the kingdom on terms of almost equal status with the ruling sovereign, especially during the latter's old age, was by no means uncommon among the kingdoms of that period. The history of the Kākatiyas, their neighbours, provides parallel instances, and in the history of the Haihaya chiefs of Kona-maṇḍala or Kona-simā we have a unique record of dual kingship which had been in existence for nearly three quarters of a century before the time of Siṅghaṇa. More than all, there is some definite evidence that in the case of this very Yādava dynasty of Devagiri the heir-apparent was associated in the administration of the country. Amalānanda Sarasvatī says in the introduction to his Kalpataru,

कीर्त्या यादववंशमुन्नमयति श्रीजैत्रदेवात्मजे

कृष्णे क्षमाभृति भूतलं सह महादेवेन संबिभ्रति ।¹

and again in the end he states,

कृष्णक्षितीशे भुवनैकवीरे

भ्रात्रा महादेवनृपेण साकम् ।

पाति क्षितिं प्रागिव धर्मसूनौ².

The second passage is quite explicit, and suggests that Mahādeva was practically the joint ruler of the country along with Kṛṣṇa, Siṅghaṇa's successor. So it seems extremely probable that Siṅghaṇa became the ruler of the kingdom as early as the end of the 12th Century, although his formal accession did not take place till some time about the end of the first decade of the 13th Century.

The last inscription of Siṅghaṇa available so far is a copper plate grant³, dated Śaka 1173, Plavaṅga Jyeṣṭha Paurṇimā, Thursday, Lunar Eclipse. The Śaka year is evidently wrong,

1. Introduction, verse 13, in Amalānanda Sarasvatī's Kalpataru.

2. *Ibid.*, verses 6 and 7 at the end.

3. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 4 A of 1936.

since Plavaṅga corresponds to Śaka 1169 and not Śaka 1173. Further, on the basis of the Śaka year, Siṅghaṇa's reign will have to be extended right up to A.D. 1251, far into the reign of his grandson Kṛṣṇa. The Lunar Eclipse was in the month of Jyēṣṭha, but this error can be explained away as due to the confusion that might have arisen by mixing up amānta and pūrṇimānta systems of calculation. The Pūrṇimā actually expired on Wednesday at 8 of the day, and the eclipse was naturally on that day, although the inscription cites the week-day as Thursday and not Wednesday. This discrepancy in the week-day is also accountable on the basis of the fact that the record was actually issued on Thursday, although the grant was made on the previous night (that is, Wednesday night). If on the basis of the above explanation this date is accepted as a sound one, it follows that this is the last inscription of Siṅghaṇa known so far, corresponding to 19th June.

The earliest inscription¹ of Kṛṣṇa is dated Kīlaka, Kārtika śu. Paurṇimā, Friday, corresponding to the 2nd of November, A.D. 1248, and from now on, his inscriptions range till the year A.D. 1259. However, his dated inscriptions giving also the regnal years, with but two exceptions, assign his accession to a period earlier than 19th June, A.D. 1247, the date of Siṅghaṇa's copper-plate grant referred to above. Nor is the evidence available unanimous in indicating a single date for his accession. Four of the eight inscriptions available giving regnal years and full details, suggest a date between 2nd November, A.D. 1246 and 17th March, A.D. 1247, while the other four suggest a date between 16th Decem., A.D. 1245 and 3rd August, A.D. 1246. It is to be noted that barring the copper-plate grant² dated 19th June, A.D. 1247, we have no reliable records of Siṅghaṇa available so far, after the Mallur inscription³ dated 1st June, A.D. 1245. It is not improbable that Siṅghaṇa's copper-plate grant registers an incident which took place sometime earlier. There are many instances of kings allowing records to be issued in the names of their predecessors, when they referred to any activities undertaken during their time. Anyhow it is certain that Siṅghaṇa ruled till at least the end of A.D. 1245, when probably due to the

1. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VII, Sk. 217.

2. Fleet cites another inscription dated Śaka 1169, that is A. D. 1247-48. *Vide* Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 73.

3. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 154 of 1933.

death of his son Jaitugi, Siṅghaṇa made his grandson Kṛṣṇa, the heir-apparent. Whether this was the case, or Kṛṣṇa actually came to the throne, it is impossible to say definitely with the evidence at our disposal.

The last dated inscription¹ of Kṛṣṇa available so far is the one from Hirelingadahalli (Dharwar district), dated Siddārthin, Vaiśākha śu. Tadiya, Monday, corresponding to 28th April A.D. 1259. Although the inscriptions of his successor Mahādeva begin only from Śaka 1184, on the basis of the regnal years cited in his inscriptions, we can deduce that the date of his accession must have fallen between 7th November, A. D. 1259 and 13th July, A.D. 1260.² There is only one inscription of Kṛṣṇa for which a date later than this is suggested, and that is the Yenigi inscription³ (Hadagalli taluk, Bellary district). The inscription is actually dated in Śaka 1181, Kālayukti, Puṣya ba. Amāvāsyā, Monday, Uttarāyṇa saṅkrānti, Solar Eclipse, Vyatīpāta, which is

1. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 106 of 1933.

2. An inscription of Mahādeva from Hattimattur, Haveri taluk, Dharwar district (69 of 1933) is dated in the 5th regnal year, Krodhana, Kārtika ba. 13, Wednesday. In Krodhana, the tithi fell on a Thursday, f. d. t. 35. On account of this discrepancy, the Department of Epigraphy suggests that the cyclic year was probably Kṣaya, for which year the details work out without any such discrepancy. There are two objections against this suggestion. Firstly, it is a more serious alteration to amend the cyclic year than to state that the week-day is given as Thursday, instead of Wednesday. During the interval between the conferring of a grant and the actual issuing of a record registering it, it is possible for a mistake to creep in as regards the week-day, but not as regards the year. Secondly, the regnal year is given as the 5th, which would place his accession not earlier than 28th October, A.D. 1261, which is obviously incorrect. Therefore it is not possible to reject the cyclic year given in the inscription and substitute Kṣaya in its place. The date of this inscription would therefore correspond to 27th October, A.D. 1266. It is strange that this is stated to fall in the 5th regnal year, while another inscription dated in the same cyclic year Krodhana and some four months earlier than this inscription in the month of Āṣāḍha gives the regnal year as 6. It is necessary therefore to take the regnal year of this inscription as expired, on which basis there will be no discrepancy in the date of accession calculated from this inscription.

3. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 525 of 1914.

stated to be the 13th year of Kandharadeva's reign. It also stated that the cyclic year Piṅgaḷa was the 12th regnal year, which definitely proves that there was no mistake about the cyclic and the regnal years. But the month Puṣya was a Kṣaya māsa in that year, and consequently the Department of Epigraphy rejects it, and suggests that the cyclic year was probably Dundubhi, in which year Puṣya ba. Amāvāsyā began on a Monday. This suggestion is based on the date of accession assigned to Kṛṣṇa by Kielhorn, namely A.D. 1249. But Kielhorn's date is much too late for Kṛṣṇa's accession, and was already rejected both by Fleet and Bhandarkar. We have already seen that the evidence of the few dated inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa giving regnal years also goes against the date assigned by Kielhorn. Consequently the suggestion made by the Department of Epigraphy is open to objection. In the first place, even as amended, the details do not work out satisfactorily, since there was no Solar Eclipse on Puṣya ba. Amāvāsyā, even in the cyclic year Dundubhi. Secondly, any change suggested will affect the second date given in this inscription, and also the Śaka year which is given as corresponding to the cyclic year. On the other hand, by accepting the cyclic year as given in the inscription we obtain the date of accession as A.D. 1246, which agrees quite satisfactorily with the conclusion we reached above. We may therefore assign this inscription to the end of Kṛṣṇa's reign, and assume that his death and the accession of Mahādeva took place during the latter part of A.D. 1259.

The last available inscription¹ of Mahādeva is dated in Vibhava, the 9th regnal year, but unfortunately the details of the date are lost. Fleet cites an inscription dated in Śaka 1191, referring to his mahāpradhāna and sarvādhikāri Tipparasa.² There is an inscription of Rāmacandra at Beturu,³ Davanagere taluk, Chitaldrug district, dated Prajāpati, that is A.D. 1271-72. But we do not get a regular series of inscriptions till the year A.D. 1275. A careful scrutiny of 22 inscriptions of Rāmacandra giving regnal years shows that once again we have two different dates from which the regnal years are reckoned, the first falling in the year A.D. 1266-69 (between 14th November, 1268 and 2nd February, 1269), and the second in the year A.D. 1270

1. *Vide*. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 168 of 1933.

2. *Dynasties of the Kanarese districts*, p. 74.

3. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XI, Dg. 13.

and 71 (between 5th November, 1270 and 12th February, 1271). But it is interesting to note that the inscriptions of the earlier part of his reign indicate the later date of accession, that is A.D. 1270-71, while the later inscriptions give the earlier date, that is A.D. 1268-69. It is definitely known from the Paithan grant¹ that after Mahādeva, there was a dispute over the succession between Amana, the son of Mahādeva, and Rāmacandra, Kṛṣṇa's son. Rāmacandra is stated to have forcibly wrested the kingdom from Amana, which shows that probably Amana had already acquired it. Therefore even if we admit that Rāmacandra did not come to the throne till A.D. 1270-71 as shown by most of the inscriptions of the earlier part of his reign, it does not follow that Mahādeva was living till that time. There must have been an interval between the date of the death of Mahādeva, and the accession of Rāmacandra, which the latter tried to conceal during the latter part of his reign by reckoning the period of his rule from the time of Mahādeva's death.

Inscriptional evidence is not very helpful in determining the last date of Rāmacandra's reign and the dates of Śaṅkara and Harapāla. But these dates have been calculated on the basis of other reliable evidence (mostly Muslim chronicles), and do not stand in need of confirmation by inscriptional evidence.

TIRUTTAVATTURAI OR LĀLGUḌI.

BY

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Tamil Lexicon, Madras University.

LĀLGUḌI, the headquarters of a taluk in the Trichinopoly district, the well-known centre of Smārta Brāhmins of the Bṛhat-caraṇam sect and the seat of an ancient Śiva temple of rare architectural beauty, has a fascinating story to tell to the South Indian historian. Its modern name is of Muslim origin, for the Mussalmans christened it 'the red place,' or account of the glistening red colour of the temple gōpuram.¹ A study of inscriptions recorded on the temple walls dating from the 9th to the 14th centuries, and of Tamil devotional literature, reveals quite clearly the antiquity and importance of the place.

From the Annual Reports of the Archaeological department for 1928-29,² we gather that Lālguḍi went by the name 'Tiru-t-tavatturai' in former times, and that the deity of the place was named.

Tiru-t-tavatturai-p-perumāṇ-aḍikaḷ.

„ bhaṭṭārakar, bhaḍārakar.

„ Īśvara bhaṭṭārakar.

„ Uṭaiyār.

„ Mahādēvar.

The God is at present known as 'Saptariṣivarar', for tradition has it that, here, Lord Śiva gave salvation to the Saptarṣis or seven sages Aṭri, Bṛgu and others. [Beyond perhaps a faint notion of the antiquity and greatness of the temple on account of its richness in inscriptions, scholars have not bestowed attention on its importance in old devotional literature such as the Tēvāram.]

It is a matter of common knowledge that a mention by the Tēvāram saints endows a shrine with peculiar sanctity. That such a privilege was enjoyed by Tavatturai is apparent from a line in the "Kṣētrakkōvai" (a list of Śiva shrines) of the

1. Gazetteer of the Trichinopoly District, p. 312.

2. A. R. Nos. 98 to 142.

Tēvāram, made by Appar. Etymologically it is the 'turai' (place) of penance, (தவஞ்செய்த துறை). The word எழுவர் qualifies தவத்துறை (the place of penance-making), and this would imply that the seven were penance-performers or Ṛṣis. பண்டு, which, in turn, qualifies எழுவர் tells us that the seven Ṛṣis were of very old times. Hence பண்டெழுவர் will mean the famous Saptarṣis of old. This explanation, besides doing justice to Tavatturai, also fits in with the present-day Saptarṣiśvarar of that temple. Thus, it is plain that Appar has mentioned the Lālgudi shrine also in his list.

பண்டெழுவர் தவத்துறை வேண்டுகிறை (St. 11).

Appar's reference to Tavatturai prompts us to inquire whether a separate patikam was devoted to the place by any one of the great trio of the Tēvāram saints. That it had this unique honour also is fairly certain. In that part of the Periyapurāṇam, recounting the places of pilgrimage visited by saint Jñānasambandar, Śēkkiḷār has the following lines:—

‘ஆரணத்துட்பொரு ளாயினுரை
யானைக்காவின்கட் புகழ்ந்துபாடி
ஏரணியும்பொழில் சூழ்ந்தசண்பை
யேந்தலாரெல்லையி லின்பமுற்றார்.’
“கைதொழுதேத்திப் புறத்தனைந்து
காமர்பதியதன் கட்சிலநாள்
வைகிவணங்கி மகிழ்ந்தனைவார்
மன்னுதவத்துறை வானவர்தாள்
எய்தியிறைஞ்சி யெழுந்துநின்றே
யின்றதமிழ்மாலகோண் டேந்திப்போந்து
வைதிக மாமணி யம்மருங்கு
மற்றுமுள்ள தானம் வழுதிச்செல்வார்.”
(பெரியபு. திருஞான புரா. 346, 347.)

The famous saint, we understand, after chanting the praises of the God of Tiru-v-āṇaikkā, and staying there for some days proceeded to worship at the feet of the Lord of Tavatturai. It is clear that this Tavatturai can be no other than Lālgudi which is quite close to Tiru-v-āṇaikkā, only thirteen miles intervening between them. Further, what is more important, the quotation tells us that the saint composed a sweet garland of Tamil verses for Tavatturai-vāṇavar. This fact is doubly impressed on us as Śēkkiḷār uses similar wording ‘தமிழ் மால்’ to describe the ‘patikams’ sung by Sambandar at other places and now extant:—

“பைஞ்ஞலிவாணர் கழல்பணிந்து
மண்பசவுந்தமிழ் மாலை பாடி.”

“ஆனைக்காவில் வெண்ணுவல்மேவிய மெய்ப்பொருளைப்
பண்ணு செந்தமிழ் மாலை பாடி.”

“நெடுங்களத் தாதியை இன்னிசைமாலை
கொண்டேத்தி யேகி.”

This evidence in Śēkkiḷār's lines finds strong confirmation in two inscriptions of the Lālguḍi temple. In its south wall, we find the first of the two, dated the 37th year of the reign of Madurai-koṇḍa Kōpparakēśarivarman¹ (Parāntaka Cōla I, 907-953 A.D.). This tells us that one Śivakēśari Piṭāraṇ granted land for running a kind of chantry institution, two Brahmins being engaged to recite the *Tiruppatiyaṁ* of the place thrice a day. The other is dated the 3rd year of Rājakēśari,² son of the former Parāntaka; and it records further gift of land by the same person to run the chantry, as the former endowment was found insufficient. From these two inscriptions, it is evident that a certain *patiyaṁ* on the God sung by some famous saint existed. This we identify with the song of Jñāṇasambandar mentioned by the author of the Periyapurāṇam. It is noteworthy that the chanting of Tamil hymns was assigned to members of the Brahmin community.

The Tiru-t-tavatturai-p-patikam has not come down to us in the Tēvāram the only existing collection of the songs composed by the three Śaiva saints. Its fate is similar to innumerable patikams which, we know, have been lost. Nampi-y-āṇṭār-Nampi of the eleventh century says that the songs of saint Sambandar numbered 16000,³ which would come to 1600 patikams. Umāpati Śivācārya, three centuries later, estimates the number as 384. The dwindled number shows clearly the gradual process of songs being lost to the world. The 'patikam' of Lālguḍi is manifestly one of this fraternity. [The recent discovery of an inscription with a lost 'patikam' of Sambandar quoted in it, at 'Tiru-vidāivāy' confirms this point.]

1, A. R. No. 98 of 1928-29.

2. *Ibid.*, 104 of 1928-29.

3. “பச்சைப் பதிகத்துடன் பதினாறுயிரம்பா . . . விளைக்கவல பெருமான்” (ஆளுடைய பிள்ளையார் திருத்தொகை. Some hold that Nampi-y-āṇṭār's number applies to 'patikams' instead of songs.

The existence of the Tava-t-turai-p-paṭiyam in Śēkkilār's time seems to be tolerably certain from the style and tone of the reference in the Periyapurāṇam. But if, on the other hand, it was extinct even before him, he must have based his statement on actual records such as the inscriptions mentioned before. For, he was a reputed and influential minister, able to command access to any quarter, and almost invariably had unmistakable evidence for his statements.

It is only from the time of Rāja Rāja I that we can date with certainty accounts and traditions of the three great Śaiva saints Appar, Jñānasambandar and Sundaramūrti. For we know that he was the first to establish the cult of their worship, as well as to make known to the world their hymns. Yet, this fact in no way contradicts our supposition of the existence of paṭiyams of the three great Nāyaṇmārs before his time. It is known from inscriptions that at Tiruvallam¹, Tiruvāvaḍuturai² and Paḷuvūr³ (Paḷūr) pāṭiyams were sung in the temple in pre-Rāja Rāja days, and these are now fortunately preserved in the Tēvāram. There are also similar accounts of the chanting of songs, most probably those of the three saints, which however, are not extant, at Antanallūr⁴ and Aḷḷur.⁵ Thus, it is clear that some of the Tēvāram songs, far from being unknown, were actually current even before Rāja Rāja made his collection.

Turning back to our main subject, we find that Tiruttava-t-turai went by that name in the 14th century, the era of the Vijayanagar kings, as is known from an inscription of Dēvarāya Mahārāya.⁶ Aruṇagirināthar, also of the 14th century, extols the Lord of Tavatturai in his 'Tiruppukal.'

“சேரணி யந்திரை தத்து முத்தெறி
காவிரி யின்கரை மொத்து மெத்திய
சீர்புனை கின்ற திருத்த
வத்துறை வரும் வாழ்வே”

1. A. R. 1-a of 1890.

2. *Ibid.*, 139 of 1925.

3. *Ibid.*, 349 of 1919.

4. This is called in inscriptions Anduvanllūr Tiru-v-ālan-durai. A. R. 358 of 1903, S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 139.

5. A. R. 373 of 1903.

6. *Ibid.*, 121 of 1928-29.

“திரைக்கடற்பொரு காவிரி மாநதி
பெருக்கெ டெத்துமே பாய்வன நீர்பொலி

*

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திருத்த வத்துறை மாநகர் தானுறை பெருமானே”

The inscriptions of Lālgudi reveal many interesting details about the place. This holy centre shrine formed part of the area known as Iḍaiyārrunāḍu, which is itself a subdivision of Vaḍakarai Maḷanāḍu. In the period of Pāṇḍyan domination Maḷanāḍu was called Pāṇḍya-kulapati-vaḷanāḍu; and in the time of the Cōḷa suzerainty, it went by the names ‘Pāṇḍi-kulāśani-vaḷanāḍu’ (*i.e.*, the land of the Thunderbolt of the Pāṇḍya dynasty), and Rāja Rājavaḷanāḍu. The temple Tavatturāi was much patronized by very ancient Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa kings, the Vijayanagar rulers, and other distinguished people. Among these, mention may be made of the Pallava king Teḷḷārēṇḍuvenṇu-koṇḍa Nandipōṭtarayan, the hero of Nandikalambakam, who inspired the composition of the Tamil Bhārata Veṇbā, and the Pāṇḍyan king, Māraṇḍaiyan Varaguṇamahārāja. The latter had the title of ‘Pāṇḍya kulapati’ and when Maḷanāḍu passed into his hands, it was called after him ‘Pāṇḍya-kulapati-vaḷanāḍu.’

This study brings home to us the importance of archaeological evidence coupled with other testimony in determining the nature and character of famous sthalas (shrines). Besides Tavatturāi, inscriptions disclose that other sthalas of Tēvāram fame, like Tiruccirrēmam, Vijayamaṅgai, Tirukkaḍaimuḍi and Tiruccaḍaimuḍi are different from the present-day ones bearing such names. This has been pointed out by epigraphists with regard to the first two Tiruccirrēmam, and Vijayamaṅgai. The third and fourth, Tirukkaḍaimuḍi and Tiruccaḍaimuḍi, are revealed, from my studies, to be identical with the modern Tiruceṇṇampūṇḍi and Kovilodi in the Tanjore taluk.¹

1. *Vide* my article ‘தேவாரம்பெற்ற தலங்களும் சிலாசாஸன வழக்கும்’ in the *Kalai-magal* (Vol. XI, pp. 408-419).

VIJAYĀLAYA CŌĻA'S KĀĪYĀPAṬṬI—ŚIVA TEMPLE
(9th century A.D.)

BY

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and

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Kāṭiyāpaṭṭi is a small village in Kuḷattūr Taluk of the Pudukotah State 10 miles from Kīraṇūr and about 25 miles from the town of Pudukotah, the capital of the State. It lies on the Puliyūr Kiḷlukkōṭṭai road near Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi almost on the borders of the Trichinopoly district.

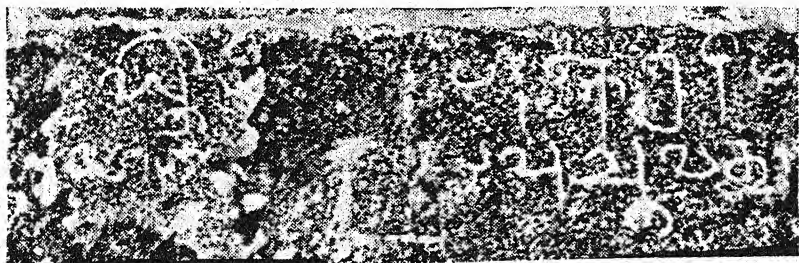
A few furlongs to the south of the village, there is in the midst of the fields an old temple in ruins. It faces east. It is a small compact edifice at once simple in structure and charming in outward appearance, and is built, like some of the Pallava and early Cōḷa structures, completely of well-dressed and close-fitting granite blocks without any binding material.

It measures eight feet square and its walls are a foot and a half in thickness. The walls of the *garbhagṛha* on the three enclosed sides are supported by pilasters, four on each side, adorned with *kumbham* and *palagai* and *kaṇḍam*. The brackets have an angular profile similar to those of Vijayālayacōḷiśvaram at Nārttāmalai and the temple at Tiruppūr. The walls are not provided with niches for deities. Above the cornice (Kabodam) which is decorated with scroll-work and Kūḍus, there is a frieze of yālīs running all round. The roof consists of a *grīvā* and *śikhara*. The *stūpi* is missing. The *śikhara* has four Kūḍus one on each side, and each kūḍu has fine scroll-work on its face; as also on the corners of the square base of the *śikhara*. The *Simhamukhams* are absent. The form of the *śikhara* is four-sided and domical shaped with convex curvature—'cupola like.' In this respect, it resembles that of the Gaṅgāvataṛaṇa shrine sculptured in the immortal rock carvings of Māmallapuram portraying the scene of the penance of Bhagīratha and the descent of the Ganges.¹

1. Plate XXX of Longhurst's Pallava Architecture, Vol. II.



Kāliyāpatti—Śiva Temple.



Newly discovered inscription—A part—18th year of
Parakēsari pa (ṇmar).



This *śikhara* resembles those of Tirukkattalai, Koḍumbālūr, Eṇādi, Tiruppūr and Viśālūr. Between the *śikhara* and the *stūpi* we have two layers of lotus petals, mahāpadma and paṭṭiśa (padmapīṭham and ratnapīṭam?) as in the Kaṇṇanūr temple. The walls of the roof approach each other gradually as it ascends until the narrow top space is suitably covered by a single stone finial to crown all. The interior is a hollow pyramid. The *vimāna* seems to have been originally covered with plaster and stucco work, traces of which are found on the surface.

A closed *ardha-maṇḍapa* six feet square appears to have been attached to the main shrine. Only the moulded basement is found now intact. Small sub-shrines round the main shrine must have been in existence, as the basement of a few of them can be seen. The basement of the nandi-maṇḍapa in front of the main shrine is also found. The whole must have been enclosed by a *prākāra* with a gateway in front. The figures of three *nandis*, *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and another mutilated seated image are found scattered about the place. These clearly point out that it is a *Śiva* temple. *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and other deities might have adorned the niches in the *grīvā* and the *nandis* on the four corners round the *vimāna*. The *kūḍu* in the *śikhara* and the lotus layers above the *śikhara* resemble those of the temple of Kaṇṇanūr.

There is a much mutilated unpublished inscription on the south wall and on the basement of the main shrine. It refers to the 18th year of a certain Parakēsari and it is fragmentary. We get no more particulars than a few names of the signatories of the representatives of villages who perhaps were members of the assembly—Viśālūr, Veṇṇāyil (modern Seṭṭipatti) and Kannaṅguḍi—all of them villages situated in the neighbourhood of this village. Though the inscription is fragmentary and the operative part which would throw light on the nature of the transaction recorded in it is lost, we have sufficient data here at least to enable us to fix the age of the monument and the king who reigned then. The figure 8 in 18 in line 2 is one generally found in early Tamil inscriptions. The vowels *a*, *ā*, *i* and the consonants *ri*, *ti*, *yi* are sufficiently archaic to enable us to ascribe the inscription to the 9th or early 10th century A.D.

From the foregoing description, certain broad conclusions may be deduced. The temple is a simple structure belonging to the transitional period from the Pallava to the Cōla times, that the earliest prototype of this could be traced to the Māmalla-

puram sculptures. The stylistic and epigraphical considerations do not militate against its being assigned to the latter part of the 9th or early 10th century A.D.

But as there is an inscription of the 18th year of Parakēśari, at the latest it can be assigned to Parāntaka I, whose accession was in 907 A.D. Therefore the temple should have been in existence in any event (in 925 A.D.) in the first quarter of the 10th century A.D. But Parāntaka conquered Madura very early in his reign soon after his accession and from the third regnal year onwards he assumes the title of '*Madurai Koṇḍa*'. The absence of this title in an inscription of his 18th year would be very strange and uncommon. Hence it should be more appropriately assigned to the earlier Parakēśari. This is only reinforced by the character of the script, the absence of niches on the main walls of the *garbhagṛha*, the style of the *Kūḍu*, the shape and ornamentation of the *śikhara*, the angular profile of the *corbels*, which all taken together indicate that we may safely venture to assign it to the reign of the earlier Parakēśari, namely Vijayālaya, who was the founder of the imperial Cōlas of Tanjore and who flourished in the latter half of the 9th century A.D. Thus it is, like the Vijayālayacōliśvaram in Nārttāmalai¹, another monument of the days of Vijayālaya.

There is a shrine almost similar in style and form at Ēṇādi, a village near Ponnamarapati.

The size, the form of the pilaster and cornice and the shape of the *śikhara* are identical. There is also an *ardhamanḍapa* in front. Perhaps it is a later imitation of Kāliyāpatti. As we have said already, the *śikhara* of the Tirukkattalai temple² is of the same style. Again the *vināna* of the Mūvarkoil at Koḍumbālūr has the *śikhara* of the same form. In this place we have two of the three shrines intact "*Vimānatrayam*". They were built by Bhūti Vikramakēśari for his benefit and that of his two queens—Karaḷai and Varaguṇā. The age of the Koḍumbālūr temple is a subject of controversy and recently it has been discussed by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Rev. Father Heras.³

1. J. O. R., Vol. VIII.

2. J. O. R., Vol. X, p. III.

3. See the Koḍumbālūr inscription of Vikramakēśari. J. O. R., Vol. VII and Heras. J. A. R. S., January, 1934, pp. 33 ff. and the reply of K. A. N. Sastri in the latter journal—July. 1935.

Ascribing the Koḍumbālūr temple to the seventh century—a view with which we do not agree—Heraś has appended the following note:—

"The only serious objection against our views as regards this Koḍumbālūr chronology is *archaeological*. The temples of Koḍumbālūr built by Bhūti Vikramakēsari seem to belong to a much later period. The general style of the temples, the technique of the sculpture, the system of construction appear *Cōla* rather than *Pallava*, and look more of the tenth century than of the seventh. As a matter of fact, the Koḍumbālūr temples may be classified as an architectural phenomenon. If these temples are finally placed in the 10th or even in the 11th century, you will still have the square cupola-like umbrella—of the top of the *vimāna* and especially the construction itself of the *vimāna*—without precedent and without consequent—totally unique in South Indian architecture without a satisfactory explanation. Bhūti Vikramakēsari or his architect or perhaps both were geniuses much beyond their age. Had the style of Koḍumbālūr found followers, a new style of architecture would have existed in South India. But now the temples are like an isolated instance of the work of a genius that found no followers."

We have quoted this long passage in order to show how undeveloped the present state of our knowledge of South Indian temples stands and how scholars can rush to hasty conclusions not warranted by facts. We shall in our future publications point out that the Koḍumbālūr *vimāna* is not an isolated and unique work of a genius but it has *precedents* and *consequents*. It will be seen that the *śikharas* of Kāliyāpatṭi, Koḍumbālūr, Ēṇādi Tirukkattalai, Tiruppūr, Viśālūr—and we may add even the distant saṅgamēśvara temple at Paṭṭadakkal, of perhaps the 8th century—are very similar.

South Indian temples, chiefly Cōla and Pāṇḍya, have not been studied with the care and attention they deserve. They are an untapped source. Much attention has been concentrated on a few famous temples. Some have perished. A few more have suffered at the relentless hands of pious renovators ignorant of the value of these precious monuments. Many more await study. But no safe theory can be built up except by an inductive process based on a study of most of the existing monuments still fortunately spared to us. But unfortunately that day is still far off.

APPENDIX.

PART A.

1. (Sva)sti.....parakēsari pa...
2.yā.....18 āvadu.

PART B.

1. Namum arivēṇ seng.....Kāḍenēn ivaie nneluttu.
2. ippaḍi arivēṇ *viśalūr* pakaiyava.....ippaḍi arivēṇ *Veṇ-
ṇāyiludaiyānarai*.
3. ya naganēn...ippaḍi arivēṇ *kaṇṇaṅḡuḍi* naganendanēn.

ERRATA

Read pages numbered 80 to 127 *as* pages numbering 71 to 118.

॥ यत्किञ्चित् गालोडितम् ॥

॥ नवमे अखिलभारतीयविद्याविमर्शकसमाजे पठितम् ॥

BY

RAO BAHADUR S. K. PADMANABHA SASTRI,

Madras.

गणाधिपं गिरां देवीं गुरुन् कोशकरान्नमन् ।
गालोडये किञ्चिदिव विमर्शकसभामुदे ॥ १ ॥
पाठेऽर्थे चागमभ्रंशान्महतामपि मोहतः ।
न विद्मः किं जहीमोऽत्र किमुपादद्महे वयम् ॥ २ ॥
क्षीरस्वामिवचो ह्येतद्व्यनक्ति पदसागरम् ।
गहनं गाहमानैश्च पदवी पदतत्त्वगा ॥ ३ ॥
दुर्बोधेत्यागमभ्रंशो निदानं तत्र चोदितम् ।

पूल सङ्घाते इति धातौ 'पूर्ण इत्येके पूण इत्यन्ये' इति पाठान्तरं
वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुद्यां प्रदर्शितं विमृशद्भिः श्रीमद्भिः ज्ञानेन्द्रसरस्वतीभिः
'ईदृशेषु पाठशुद्धिर्निर्णेतुमशक्या ; अत एव क्षीरस्वामिनोक्तम्' इति
पद्यमिदमुपवर्ण्य 'पूर्णादिषु पाठे भ्रंशः, वज्रधातोः मार्गसंस्कारोऽर्थ उत
संस्कार एवेत्यर्थे भ्रंशः ; आगमभ्रंशात् शास्त्रभ्रंशात्' इत्यागमपदं व्याख्यातम् ।
तदिदं व्याख्यानं फलितार्थकथनपरम्, क्षीरस्वामिपद्ये आगमपदस्य
संप्रदायपरत्वात् ; सम्प्रदायभ्रंशश्च शास्त्रभ्रंशे हेतुः । संप्रदायो हि
लेखनपठनपरम्परामनुसीव्यति । लिपिश्च बहुधा देशभेदानुविभिन्नति
विदितम् । लेखका अपि नैकविधा अवहिता अनवहिताश्च लेखने
प्रकाराननेकानवलम्बन्ते । तत्रैवं सति पाठकाः कथंकारं पठनेऽनेकान्
प्रकारान्नाकलयेयुः, संप्रदायो वा न विच्छिन्धात् । शास्त्रभ्रंशे हेतुरयं
संप्रदायभ्रंशः । शास्त्रभ्रंशे च सति समुपलभ्यमानान् पाठभेदांस्तथा तथा
समर्थयन्ति बुद्धिकुशला विमर्शकाः । तांश्च पदानां पाठभेदान्निर्दिश्य

किंचिदिव विमृशामः । तत्र तावत् प्रथमतः सर्वतो विस्मरां नागरीलिपि-
मधिकृत्य लेखकानां पाठकानां च प्रमादेभ्यः प्रवृत्तान् पाठभेदान्
प्रकाशयामः ॥

पकारयकारौ हि ओष्ठ्यतालव्यौ यथावदुच्चार्यमाणौ न कोऽपि
परस्परात्मतया प्रतिपत्तुमर्हति श्रोता इति सार्वजनीनमिदम् । सत्येवं तद्वटि-
तानां पदानां तद्व्यतिभेदप्रवृत्ताः पाठा अवश्यं भाविमूलं लेखकपाठकप्रमाद-
मवष्टम्बन्ति । न खल्वेतन्निरूपकाणां परोक्षम् । पश्यत महिषपर्याये अर्थि-
पर्याये च—(लुलाय-लुलाप) [वनीपक-वनीयक] इति च इमौ पाठौ—
एनयोश्च यकारः पकारो वा प्रमादपतित इति शक्यं निश्चेतुं सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया
गवेषयताम् । पकार-यकारौ हि सरूपौ लिप्योः । एनयोर्नागरीलिप्यो-
राकारयोः संवादो हि भूयान् । परन्तु प्राङ्मुखैः प्रेक्षकैः प्रत्यक्षमीक्ष्यमाणस्य
उत्तराभिमुखमुपविशतो वानरस्य मुखवक्त्रिणा व्यतिरिच्यते य इत्यस्य
लिपिः । अयं च व्यतिरेको लेखकेन पाठकेन वा यदि नावधीयेत
प्राप्तस्तर्हि पाठे विनिमय इति । अनेन च विनिमयेन प्राप्तान् पाठभेदान्
कांश्चिदुदाहरामः ।

आतायिचिछौ आतापिचिछौ (अमरकोशे मृगादिवर्गे)

गोमहिष्यादिकं पादबन्धनम्—यादवं धनम् (अ० वैश्यवर्गे)

एतेन व-बयोरपि लेखकपाठकयोः प्रमादफलं प्रदर्शितम् । विभिन्न-
पदावयवप्रतीतेरपि विशेषेण प्रदर्शनात् । अयमेव मार्गः (व-प) (ल-ड)
(ह-ड) (न-त) (व-च) (द-ड) एतेषु विज्ञेयः । दिङ्मात्रमुदाह्रियते
व-पयोः—

प्राच्यवाची-प्राच्यपाची (अ० दिग्वर्गे)

घोटके वीतितुरग-घोटके पीतितुरग (अ० क्षत्रियवर्गे)

करवालः कृपाणवत्-करपालः कृपाणवत् (क्षत्रियवर्गे) ।

ल डयोः—

बडिशं मत्स्यवेधनम्—वलिशं मत्स्यवेधनम् (अ० वारिवर्गे)

ह-डयोः—

हयनं च समं त्रयम् ।

डयनं च समं त्रयम् (अ० क्षत्रियवर्गे)

डिण्डीरोऽब्धिकफः—हिण्डीरोऽब्धिकफः (अ० वैश्यवर्गे)

न-तयोः—

तूदस्तु यूपः क्रमुकः

नूदस्तु यूपः क्रमुकः (अ० वनौषधिवर्गे)

नलमीनश्चिलिचिमः—तलमीनश्चिलिचिमः (अ० वारिवर्गे)

व-चयोः—

चक्राणि पुटमेदाः स्युः—वक्राणि पुटमेदाः स्युः (अ० वारिवर्गे)

द-डयोः

कमठी डुलिः—कमठी दुलिः (अ० वारिवर्गे)

तुन्दिल-तुन्दिभौ—तुण्डिल-तुण्डिभौ (अ० मनुष्यवर्गे)

ष-पयोरपि—

क्लीबः षण्डो नपुंसके—क्लीबः पण्डो नपुंसके (अ० मनुष्यवर्गे) ।

इयमेव रीतिः संयुक्तवर्णघटितपदानां लेखने पठने च अनवधान-
निदानानां पाठान्तराणां प्रवृत्तावनुसन्धेया । उदाह्रियन्तेऽत्र कानिचित्—
ज्ञ-ज्ययोः—

यशः कीर्तिः समाज्ञा च—यशः कीर्तिः समज्या च (अ० शब्दादिवर्गे)

परिषद्वाचकः समज्याशब्दो लिपिव्यामोहात् कीर्तिपर्यायः प्रावर्तत ।

न्व-ल्वयोः, ल-कयोश्च—

इन्वकास्तच्छिरोदेशे—इल्वलास्तच्छिरोदेशे (अ० दिग्वर्गे)

इन्वकाशब्द एव श्रुतौ श्रूयते 'सोमस्येन्वकाविततानि' इति
मृगशीर्षशिरोदेशस्थितानां तारकाणां नामतया । एवं आर्लिशब्दः चापकोटि-
पर्यायः आरण्यके—'रुद्रस्य त्वेव धनुरार्लिः' 'दिव्यस्यैका धनुरार्लिः'
'अप शत्रून् विध्यतां संविदाने आर्ली इमे' इति च श्रूयते । अमरकोशे तु
क्षत्रियवर्गे अर्तिः पीडा आर्तिः पीडा इत्येव दृश्यते पाठः । इदं च 'हलो यमां
यमि लोपः' इति सूत्रे मनोरमाशब्दरत्नयोः स्पष्टम् । लोके नकारघटितः
आर्लिशब्दो मृग्य इदानीं संवृतः । अत्र च लेखकपाठकयोः प्रमाद एव
निदानं संभाव्यते ।

अवाचिमूकोऽथ मनोजवसः पितृसंनिभः—मनोजवः स पितृ-
सन्निभः—मनोजवाः सपितृसंनिभः इति (अ. विशेष्यनिघ्नवर्गे)
पाठत्रयमनुसृत्य मनोजवसः, मनोजवः, मनोजवाः इति त्रयोऽपि
शब्दा व्याख्यातुमिः व्युत्पाद्यन्ते । वेदे तु 'मनोजवसं वृषणं सुवृक्तिम्'
इति द्वितीयान्तं पठ्यते (तै-सं-का-२-प्र-४-अनु ७) । अत्र अमरकोशे
मूलपाठे पदपाठे च भेदः सर्वथा लेखकपाठक्रममादेन प्रतिपन्न इति
निर्विवादम् ।

एवं ख-षयोः—ड-लयोः श-ष-सानां व-वयोश्च उच्चारणेषु
व्यामोहात् पाठान्तराणि—

पाषण्डाः सर्वलिङ्गिनः—पाखण्डाः सर्वलिङ्गिनः (अ० ब्रह्मवर्गे)
बडिशं मत्स्यवेधनम्—बलिशं मत्स्यवेधनम् (अ० वारिवर्गे)
वंशादिकं तु सुषिरम्—वंशादिकं तु शुषिरम् (अ० नाट्यवर्गे)
अभीशुः प्रग्रहे रश्मौ—अभीषुः प्रग्रहे रश्मौ (अ० नानार्थवर्गे)
शर्मसातसुखानि च—शर्मशातसुखानि च (अ० कालवर्गे)
शाबकः शिशुः—शावकः शिशुः (सिंहादिवर्गे)

इत्यादीनि निरूप्याणि ।

एवं वर्गप्रथमद्वितीययोरुच्चारणेऽनवधानात् पदे पाठान्तरम्—

सोमोद्धवा मेखलकन्यका—सोमोद्धवा मेकलकन्यका (अ० वारिवर्गे)
क्षुद्रशङ्खाः शङ्खनखाः—क्षुद्रशङ्खाः शङ्खनखाः (अ० वारिवर्गे)
सोमपीथी तु सोमपाः—सोमपीती तु सोमपाः (अ० ब्रह्मवर्गे) ।

कचित् वर्गप्रथमतृतीययोरुच्चारणेऽनवधानात् पाठभेदः—

कडङ्करो बुसं क्लीबे—कडङ्करो बुसं क्लीबे (अ० वैश्यवर्गे)
तडित्सौदामनी विद्युत्—तटित्सौदामनी विद्युत् (अ० दिग्वर्गे) ।

कचित् द्वितीयचतुर्थयोरुच्चारणेऽनवधानात् पाठभेदः—

पुंसि मेधिः खले दारु—पुंसि मेधिः खले दारु (अ० वैश्यवर्गे) ।

कचित् हकार-घकारयोः—

पदं हि श्वरणोऽस्त्रियाम्—पदङ्गि श्वरणोऽस्त्रियाम् (अ० मनुष्यवर्गे) ।

सिंहाणमपि तन्मले—सिङ्गाणमपि तन्मले (अ० वैश्यवर्गे) ।

चरणपर्याये अंहिरिति हकारघटितस्य प्रयोगो विरल इति ज्ञायते ।

क्वचित् रि इत्यस्य उच्चारणे अनवधानात् ऋ इति अचः प्रसक्त्या पाठान्तरम्—

नीलङ्गुस्तु क्रिमिः—नीलङ्गुस्तु कृमिः (अ० सिंहवर्गे) ।

तडाकादिषु पूर्वोच्चारितवर्गप्रथमादितुल्योच्चारणस्वभावप्रवणजिह्वा तारल्येन, वर्गन्तृतीयघटितद्वितीयन्तृतीयवर्णयुतानाम् उच्चारणक्रमेऽनवधानाच्च क्रमादिमे पाठभेदाः—

तटाकः-तडागः-तटागः-तडाकः । एतादृशाश्च न भूयांस उपलभ्येरन् पद्माकरस्तडाकोऽस्त्री—पद्माकरस्तडागोऽस्त्री (अ० वारिवर्गे) ।

मरकतनारिकेलादिषु आनुपूर्व्यादौ व्यामोहात् पाठभेदाः—

गारुत्मतं मरकतम्—गारुत्मतं मरतकम् (अ० वैश्यवर्गे)

नारिकेलस्तु लाङ्गली—नालिकेरस्तु लाङ्गली (अ० वनवर्गे)

जम्बुकादिषु प्रथमद्वितीयाक्षरयोरचोर्व्यत्ययेन पाठपरम्पराया अपपाठ एव परिशिष्यते लोके । तन्मूलभूतस्य तु सर्वथा तिरोहितिरिति साधुशब्द-निर्णयाय प्रतिपदपाठस्याप्यावश्यकता, वेदस्येव तस्याध्ययनपरम्पराया अप्यपेक्षणीयता प्राप्तेत्यहो वेदस्य स्वरूपसंरक्षणेऽध्ययनपरम्पराया उपायस्य पश्यत कियानयमुपयोग इति ।

आश्रितेऽप्यस्मिन्नन्यादृश उपाये आन्ध्रद्राविडादिदेशभेदादारण्यके भूयान् पाठभेदः, मट्टभास्करादिभाष्यानुसारी च अधुनातनपाठाद्विलक्षणः पाठ इति जितं कालदेशादिशक्त्या सर्वथा सर्वानप्यर्थानन्यथयन्त्या । प्रकृतमनुसरामः ।

जम्बुकशब्दः सिंहवर्गे क्रोष्टुपर्यायः, नानार्थवर्गे क्रोष्टुवरुणयोः पर्यायोऽपि पठ्यते—

फेरुफेरवजम्बुकाः—जम्बुकौ क्रोष्टुवरुणौ इति च ।

तत्र जम्बुकशब्दो 'गृग्यवादयश्च' इत्युणादिषु व्युत्पादितः । भोजने तु 'जमेर्बुक्च' इत्युक्प्रत्यये बुगागमे च जमेर्व्युत्पादितोऽसौ शृगाल-वाचीति सत्यमिदम् । वरुणवाची तु जुम्बकशब्दः, न तु जम्बुकशब्दः । वेदे हि 'जुम्बकाय स्वाहेत्यवभृथ उत्तमामाहुतिं जुहोति । वरुणो वै जुम्बकः' इति श्रूयते । स एव वरुणवाची लोकेऽपि भवितुमर्हति लोकवेदाधिकरणन्यायात् । अश्रद्धया अनवधानेन वा तस्य विस्मृतिरपि लोके

संवृता । शब्दकल्पद्रुमादौ नवीनेऽपि कोशे नायमुपलभ्यते । श्रीमान् आपटे
महाभागः परं पठति तमेनं वरुणवाचिनं जुम्बकशब्दम् । भट्टभास्करीये
तैत्तिरीयभाष्ये 'जुबिवर्जने' इति धातोर्व्युत्पन्नोऽसौ इत्युच्यते । परन्तु
कवर्गीयान्तेषु युगि, जुगि, वुगि, वर्जने इति गान्त एव भ्वादिगणे पठ्यते,
न बान्तः । अथवा बहुलमेतन्निदर्शनमित्युक्त्या जुबिधातुरपि कचिदन्तर्भाव-
यितुं शक्यते । सर्वेषामपि प्रयुक्तचराणां पदानां तैस्तेरुपायैः साधुत्वं प्रदर्श-
यितुं शक्यते । तदर्थमेव गणानामाकृतिगणत्वम्, बहुषु सूत्रेषु बहुलग्रहणम्,
पृषोदरादिगणप्रदर्शनम्, द्विरूपादिकोशनिबन्धनम् इत्युपायजातमुपबृंहितं
प्राचीनैः निबन्धूभिः । परं त्वत्रापि काचित् कल्पिता भाति सीमा ।
'प्रयुक्तानामिदमन्वाख्यानम्' इति 'यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते' इति च ।

जुम्बकशब्दवदेव संकुसुकशब्देऽपि गतिः कल्पनीया । स हि आरण्यके
द्वितीयप्रपाठके 'संकुसुको विकुसुकः' इति श्रूयते । यद्यपि उणादौ 'समिकस
उकन्' इति संकुसुकशब्दो व्युत्पाद्यते अमरकोशे च 'संकुसुकोऽस्थिरे'
इति पठ्यते न तु संकुसुक इति । तथापि भोजेन 'बाहुलकात् संकुसुकः'
इति समर्थ्यते । तथा तैत्तिरीये 'स क्रमुकं प्राविशत् क्रमुकमुपदधाति' इति
इन्धनविशेषवाची क्रमुकशब्दोऽपि भोजेनैव 'क्रमेः क्रुम् च वा' इति
व्युत्पाद्यते । अमरस्तु 'तूदस्तु यूपः क्रमुकः' इत्येव पठति वनवर्गे ।
विभिन्नार्थकौ क्रमुकक्रमुकशब्दावुभावपि स्वतन्त्रौ साधू संभाव्येते ॥

अथ प्रदर्शितया प्रक्रियया अमरकोशे पदानां पाठभेदान् विमृशामः ।

GREATER GĪTĀ*

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

The title of this paper is based on the analogy of Greater India. But the main intention is not to give a list of the imitations of the Bhagavad Gītā found in or ascribed to the several Purāṇas or similar compilations. These imitations are no doubt an interesting subject and the New Catalogus Catalogorum Office in the Madras University has been able to note up till now about a hundred such imitations of the Bhagavad Gītā.¹ The Gītā came to be the accepted form for presenting any spiritual discourse. There are three Gītās pertaining to Nānak and Sikhism, there is a Nārāyaṇa Gītā belonging to the Rāmānanda sect and there is one Jain Gītā. When a Sanskrit writer set his hand to make a Sanskrit version of the Bible, he called it Khr̥ṣṭu Gītā. When the gifted Mrs. Kṣamā Row wanted to record the Satyāgraha of Mahātmāji in classic form, she adopted the name Satyāgraha Gītā. From Madras appeared also a parody of the famous Surat session of the Indian National Congress called the Congress Gītā.

Leaving these and the Gītās found in or ascribed to the several Purāṇas, let us examine the Itihāsottama or the Great Epic itself in which the Bhagavad Gītā appears. The Mahābhārata seems to be a fertile soil for Gītās. To Arjuna himself who forgets the teachings of the Bha. Gītā, the Lord addresses again the Anugītā in the Āśvamedhika. There is a Uttara Gītā in three chapters, commented upon by a Gaudapāda, which again is addressed by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna who forgets the Bha. Gītā and which some mss. assign to the Āśvamedhikaparvan where the Anugītā occurs and some to the Bhīṣmaparvan where the Bha. Gītā occurs, but which is really not to be found in any part of the text of the Mahābhārata. Some of the other Gītās in the Mahābhārata are the Śamyāka Gītā in Śānti, 175; the Mañki

* A paper read before the Sanskrit Academy, Madras, on the Gītā Day, Jan. '38.

1. See Appendix here for an alphabetical list of the Gītās.

Gītā in Śānti, 176; the Hārīta Gītā in Śānti, 2^o4; the Vṛtra Gītā in Śānti, 285; and the Parāśara Gītā in Śānti, 296-304.¹ Besides these discourses bearing the name 'Gītā',² there are the valuable teachings inculcated in the sections,—the Darmavyādha-ākhyāna, the Ajagara episode, the Yakṣapraśna, the Viduranīti, the Sanat-sujātiya, the whole Mokṣa dharma of the Śāntiparvan and the Vaiṣṇavadharma in the Ānuśāsanika found only in Southern mss. It is not the form of the Gītā but it is the spirit that is the Gītā which is important. The Gītā-spirit permeates the whole Epic, like electric energy; and because it has been made manifest in the form of a high-candle-power bulb at the door of the Bhīṣmaparvan, it cannot be said that the Gītā is available in the Mahābhārata in that place only. Like butter out of butter-milk, the Bha. Gītā is a natural emanation from the Mahābhārata.

भारतामृतसर्वस्वगीताया मथितस्य च ।

सारमुद्धृत्य कृष्णेन अर्जुनस्य मुखे हृतम् ॥ Bhīṣma, 43. 5.

It is true that great utterances excel themselves and outgrow their context for the sake of universal benefit and it is legitimate that philosophers build out of the Gītā each his own system of philosophy, emphasising Karma, Jñāna and Bhakti. But the process called spiritual does not seem to be a pure element of any one of these or a mere mixture of these but an unanalysable whole of Yoga in which Karman looks like Jñāna, Jñāna like Karman and both like Bhakti. Still a study of the Gītā in its context would show a primary emphasis on Karman; what is that philosophy for, which is not to guide us to act better or to act as we ought to? Action is something in the very nature of life and there is no getting rid of it. But this binding action itself will liberate us, only if we know how to do it. There is a saying in Sanskrit that there is no letter in the alphabet which is not a Mantra and no herb in the forest which is not a medicine; but one has to discover and apply. Similarly with our acts; there is no act of ours which we cannot turn into a powerful means of our spiritual elevation. How to transform this stone of a binding act into the gem or the gold of a liberating Yoga? Both Jñāna and Bhakti give us the alchemic process necessary for this transformation. The agent should renounce all idea of

1. References are to the Kumbhakonam edn. here; under the passages cited, in the further portions of this paper, reference is given to the Citraśālā Press edn. also.

2. For an explanation of the name 'Gītā', See Appendix.

himself being the proud doer, put himself reverently in the hand of God as his tool, offer his little act as a flower of worship to Him, and be free from the taint of attachment or the desire for the fruit. This makes life a Yoga and he who knows how to do his acts in this manner as Yoga becomes an adept in action, a Kuśāla, a Dakṣa. When one has found this secret, he will no longer be faced with the perplexity—

कर्म त्यजेदिति चरेदिति च प्रवृत्ताः

भावेन केन निगमा इति न प्रतीमः ।

Nīlakaṇṭha dīkṣita, Ānandasāgarastava.

This, I think, is the Gītā-spirit and this can be seen in the other parts of the Mahābhārata also. Mental crisis occurs frequently to men of action and when they find that of the two alternatives of doing a thing of duty with all its sorrowful consequences and of not doing it at all, the latter, as a sin of omission, is the lesser of the two evils. But this, Kṛṣṇa would call Prajñāvāda. The call of the Gītā is to do what is one's duty, one's Svadharma, in the spirit that through him, the mere agent, God is going through His programme. This Gītā-spirit also is profusely seen in the other parts of the Great Epic. A third Gītā-spirit is the 'Samatva', the equanimity of mind, the 'Nirdvandvatā' or that weather-proof slate of the mind which is not upset by the fluctuations in one's career, success-failure, honour-insult, gain-loss and so on. This again one can see wherever he lays his hand in the Mahābhārata. When with the idea in one's mind that the dominant ideas of the Gītā must form the very basis of the Great Epic, that the story of the Epic can with advantage be read in full, in detail and with care to understand more and better the Gītā itself, one reads the Mahābhārata, one is greatly rewarded. I shall now point out from the other parts of the Mahābhārata Gītā-ideas and Gītā-expressions, actual presence of entire Gītā-passages and situations such as that which the Gītā helps man to face. Verily, there is a Gītā-complex throughout the Great Epic.

It is one of the teachings of the Gītā that Dharmas like Dāna have to be done without any motive दातव्यमिति यदानम्, Bha. G. 17, 20. Dharma has to be observed for its own sake and not because its observance would bear material fruit. The Gītā does not countenance the saying "Honesty is the best policy". All this is very well brought out in the calm reply of Yudhiṣṭhira to his perturbed wife, Draupadī, who, in Vana 31, finds fault with

Yudhiṣṭhira for sticking to Dharma which is not only barren of good result but is productive of calamities also. Yudhiṣṭhira says:—

नाहं धर्मफलाकाङ्क्षी राजपुत्रि चराम्युत ।
 ददामि देयमित्येव यजे यष्टव्यमित्युत ॥
 अस्तु वात्र फलं मा वा कर्तव्यं पुरुषेण यत् ।
 गृहे निवसता कृष्णे यथाशक्ति करोमि तत् ॥
 धर्मं चरामि सुश्रोणि न धर्मफलकारणात् ।

Vana, 31, 2-4. Kumbh.

„ „ „ Citraśālā.

In ch. 203 (200 Citraśālā) of the Vanaparvan, in the Mārkaṇḍeya samāsyā, there are passages which are to be found in the Gītā also. Mārkaṇḍeya says:—

बीजानि ह्यग्निदग्धानि न रोहन्ति पुनर्यथा ।
 ज्ञानदग्धैः पुनः क्लेशैर्नात्मा संयुज्यते पुनः ॥ 108.

which we hear again from Kṛṣṇa's mouth—

ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुरुते तथा । Bha. G. IV. 37.

Again—

Mārkaṇḍeya

Kṛṣṇa

नायं लोकोऽस्ति न परः

संशयात्मा विनश्यति ।

न सुखं संशयात्मनः । 112.

नायं लोकोऽस्ति न परः

न सुखं संशयात्मनः ॥

Bha. G. IV. 40.

And Kṛṣṇa's verse in the Gītā, II, 46—

यावानर्थं उदपाने सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके ।

तावान् सर्वेषु वेदेषु ब्राह्मणस्य विजानतः ॥

is summarised by Mārkaṇḍeya in a line—

विदितार्थस्तु वेदानां परिवेद प्रयोजनम् । 113.

One of the chief ideas of the Gītā is the Svadharma yoga which is again and again dealt with, but is specially described in

ch. 17, Śls. 45-48, after a description of the Svadharma of the four Varnas:

स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः ।
 स्वकर्मनिरतः सिद्धिं यथा विन्दति तच्छृणु ॥
 यतः प्रवृत्तिर्भूतानां येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ।
 स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः ॥
 श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् ।
 स्वभावनियतं कर्म कुर्वन्नाप्नोति किल्बिषम् ॥
 सहजं कर्म कौन्तेय सदोषमपि न त्यजेत् ।
 सर्वारम्भा हि दोषेण धूमेनाग्निरिवावृताः ॥

The theory of salvation through the dispassioned discharge of one's Svadharma is based on the idea that, like Art, Svadharma is governed by its own *internal* laws and has not got to be judged by *external* ideas. It is not the Dharma itself but how one does it; like *expression* in Art, the *spirit* in which the Dharma is done is the point. It is this, of all the ideas of the Gītā, that finds repeated expression throughout the Mahābhārata. Other instances will be shown in due course and here I am drawing attention to the exposition of this theory of salvation through doing one's Dharma in the reverential spirit of offering it to God, without despising one's Dharma, *bad though it is from an external standard*, by the hunter-philosopher in chs. 211-221 (chs. 207-216 Citraśālā) of the Vanaparvan. Here the Dharmavyādha enlightens the Brahmin Kauśika who asks him why he follows that avocation of living by killing animals. The Dharmavyādha says:—

स्वधर्म इति कृत्वा तु न त्यजामि द्विजोत्तम ।

* * * *

स्वधर्मं त्यजतो ब्रह्मन्नधर्म इह दृश्यते ।

स्वधर्मनिरतो यस्तु धर्मः स इति निश्चयः ॥

कुले हि विहितं कर्म देही तं न विमुञ्चति ।

धात्रा विधिरयं दृष्टो बहुधा कर्मनिर्णये ॥

* * * *

कृषिं साध्विति मन्यन्ते तत्र हिंसा परा स्मृता ।
 कर्षन्तो लाङ्गलैरुर्वीं घ्नन्ति भूमिशयान् बहून् ॥
 धान्यबीजानि यान्याहुर्ब्रीह्यादीनि द्विजोत्तम ।
 सर्वाण्येतानि जीवा हि तत्र किं प्रतिभाति ते ॥

* * * * *
 जीवा हि बहवो ब्रह्मन् वृक्षेषु च फलेषु च ।
 उदके बहवश्चापि तत्र किं प्रतिभाति ते ॥
 सर्वं व्याप्तमिदं ब्रह्मन् प्राणिभिः प्राणजीविभिः ।

* * * * *
 सत्त्वैः सत्त्वानि जीवन्ति * * * ॥
 चङ्क्रम्यमाणा जीवांश्च धरणीसंश्रितान् बहून् ।
 पद्भ्यां हन्ति नरा विप्र * * * ॥
 उपविष्टा शयानाश्च घ्नन्ति जीवाननेकशः ।

and so the Vyādha concludes:

वक्तुं बहुविधं शक्यं धर्माधर्मेषु कर्मसु ।
 स्वकर्मनिरतो यो हि स यशः प्राप्नुयान्महत्¹ ॥

a philosophy which Kālidāsa's fisherman taught the bump-
 tious police-chief in the Śākuntala—

Fisherman:

अहं जालोद्ग्राह्यादिभिः मत्स्यबन्धनोपायैः कुटुम्बभरणं करोमि ।

Police-chief:

विशुद्ध इदानीमाजीवः !

Fisherman:

भर्तः ! मैवम्—

सहजं किल यद्विनिन्दितं न खलु तत् कर्म विवर्जनीयम् ।
 पशुमारणकर्मदारुणः अनुकम्पामृदुरेव श्रोत्रियः ॥

We shall see again that it is with this view-point that every-
 body tries to persuade Yudhiṣṭhira to crown himself in the king-

1. For a similar question and a similar reply by another Dharmavyādha, see the Varāhapurāṇa, ch. 8, Bib. Ind. Edn., pp. 51-59.

dom which he is averse to accept in his sorrow consequent on the great war.

In the Dharmavyādhākhyāna, there are, besides, other passages which can be compared with some in the Gītā:

Vyādhā.

Gītā.

न जीवनाशोऽस्ति हि देहभेदे

देहिनोऽस्मिन् यथा देहे

मिथ्यैतदाहुः म्रियतीति मूढाः ।

कौमारं यौवनं जरा ।

जीवस्तु देहान्तरितः प्रयाति

तथा देहान्तरप्राप्तिः

दशार्धतैवास्य शरीरभेदः ॥ 213. 27. धीरस्तत्र न मुह्यति ॥ II. 13.

Vyādhā, 214, 2-7.

विज्ञानार्थं मनुष्याणां मनः पूर्वं प्रवर्तते ।

तत्प्राप्य कामं भजते क्रोधं च द्विजसत्तम ॥

ततस्तदर्थं यतते कर्म चारभते महत् ।

* * * *

ततो लोभः प्रभवति मोहश्च तदनन्तरम् । etc.

which can be compared with Gītā, II, 62-3:

ध्यायतो विषयान् पुंसः सङ्गस्तेषूपजायते ।

सङ्गात् सञ्जायते कामः कामात् क्रोधोऽभिजायते ॥

क्रोधाद्भवति संमोहः etc.

Again the Vyādhā says:

षण्णामात्मनियुक्तानाम् इन्द्रियाणां प्रमाथिनाम् ।

यो धीरो धारयेद्भस्मीन् स स्यात् परमसारथिः ॥

इन्द्रियाणां प्रसृष्टानां हयानामिव वर्त्मसु ।

धृतिं कुर्वीत सारथ्ये धृत्या तानि जयेद् ध्रुवम् ॥

इन्द्रियाणां विचरतां यन्मनोऽनुविधीयते ।

तदस्य हरते बुद्धिं नावं वायुर्वाग्भसि ॥ 215. 24-27,

words which are found in the Gītā thus:

इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाथीनि । II. 60.

इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां यन्मनोऽनुविधीयते ।

तदस्य हरति प्रज्ञां वायुर्नागमिवाग्भसि ॥ II. 67.

Vyādha:

Gītā:

चित्तस्य हि प्रसादेन

प्रसादे सर्वदुःखानां

हन्ति कर्म शुभाशुभम् ।

हानिरस्योपजायते etc. | II. 65.

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लक्षणं तु प्रसादस्य

यथा दीपो निवातस्थो

यथा तृप्तः सुखं स्वपेत् ।

नेङ्गते सोपमा स्मृता । VI. 19.

निवाते वा यथा दीपो

दीप्येत् कुशलदीपितः ॥

216. 40-41.

In the Vṛihidraṇika of the Vana, sage Maudgalya refuses to go to Svarga from which one has to return and here we have the Gītā's ideal Paṇḍita or Sthitaprajña described in the verse—

तुल्यनिन्दास्तुतिर्भूत्वा समलोष्टाश्मकाञ्चनः ।

ज्ञानयोगेन शुद्धेन ध्याननित्यो बभूव ह ॥ 47.

261-46. (Citraśālā)

In the Yakṣapraśna which closes the Vana, some of the ideas of the Gītā are found in the terse replies of Yudhiṣṭhira. दाक्ष्यमेकपदं धर्म्यं and धन्यानामुत्तमं दाक्ष्यं (ch. 314. Kumbh. 313 Citraśālā) put in a nutshell the implications of the Karmayoga of the Gītā—योगः कर्मसु कौशलम्. Similarly Yudhiṣṭhira's तपः स्वधर्मवर्तित्वम् and स्वधर्मे स्थिरता धैर्यम् emphasise the Gītā-doctrine of Svadharma, the greatest *Tapas* one can perform and the greatest *Sthainya* one can have. The Gītā-ideal of an equanimous mind, unassailed by the Dvandvas, is thus effectively put by Yudhiṣṭhira in his definition of Kṣamā—क्षमा द्वन्द्वसहिष्णुत्वम्. And in his final reply, Yudhiṣṭhira gives us his picture of the best of men and the most fortunate of men, a fine Gītā-ideal:

तुल्ये प्रियाप्रिये यस्य सुखदुःखे तथैव च ।

अतीतानागते चोभे स वै पुरुष उच्यते ॥

(not found in Citraśālā).

समत्वं यस्य सर्वेषु निःस्पृहः शान्तमानसः ।

सुप्रसन्नः सदा योगी स वै सर्वधनी नरः ॥

314. 123-4 (Kumbh.)

313. (Citraśālā.)

In the Udyoga where the Lord visibly begins to take the strings in His hands: Sañjaya has met the Pāṇḍavas and Yudhiṣṭhira has told him that they were following what Kṛṣṇa decided. And Kṛṣṇa then speaks, opening with a plea for Karman. In the Gītā, He says:

न हि कश्चित् क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् ।

कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैः गुणैः ॥ III. 5.

नियतं कुरु कर्म त्वं कर्म ज्यायो ह्यकर्मणः ।

शरीरयात्रापि च ते न प्रसिद्धयेदकर्मणः ॥ III. 8.

Who can comment upon this better than Kṛṣṇa Himself and in what better manner than this in Udyoga—(ch. 29 Kumbh. and Citraśālā):

या वै विद्याः साधयन्तीह कर्म

तासां विद्यते फलं नेतरासाम् ।

* * *

योऽयं विधिः विहितः कर्मणैव

संवर्तते सञ्जय तत्र कर्म ।

तत्र योऽन्यत् कर्मणः साधु मन्येत्

मोघं तस्यालपितं दुर्बलस्य ॥

कर्मणामी भान्ति देवाः परत्र

कर्मणैवेह पूवते मातरिश्वा ।

अहोरात्रे विदधत् कर्मणैव

अतन्द्रितो नित्यमुदेति सूर्यः ॥

* * * *

अतन्द्रिता भारमिमं महान्तं

बिभर्ति देवी पृथिवी बलेन ।

अतन्द्रिताः शीघ्रमपो वहन्ति

सन्तर्पयन्तः सर्वभूतानि नद्यः ॥

a veritable poem on Karman.

The Viduranīti in the Prajāgara in the same Parvan contains a description (ch. 33 Kumbh. and Citraśālā) of 'Paṇḍita' not far removed from the Gītā's 'Sthitaprajña'. Vidura says:

यस्य कृत्यं न निग्नन्ति शीतमुष्णं भयं रतिः ।
समृद्धिरसमृद्धिर्वा स वै पण्डित उच्यते ॥

Śl. 26. (Śl. 19. Citraśālā.)

न हृष्यत्यात्मसंमाने नावमानेन तप्यते ।
गाङ्गो हृद इवाक्षोभ्यो यः स पण्डित उच्यते ॥

Śl. 33 (Śl. 26. Citraśālā.)

In Ch. 35, Vidura says:

यथा यथा हि पुरुषः कल्याणे कुरुते मनः ।
तथा तथास्य सर्वार्थाः सिद्ध्यन्ते नात्र संशयः ॥

Śl. 35 (Śl. 41 Citraśālā.)

which is put by Kṛṣṇa in the Gītā thus:

न हि कल्याणकृत् कश्चिद् दुर्गतिं तात गच्छति । VI. 40.

Then follows the Sanatsujātiya and of listening to it the fruit given is that man shall become the Nirdvandva of the Gītā:

यं श्रुत्वायं मनुष्येन्द्रः सर्वदुःखातिगो भवेत् ॥
लाभालाभौ प्रियद्वेष्यौ यथैनं न जरान्तकौ ।
विषहेरन् भयामर्षौ क्षुत्पिपासे मदोद्भवौ ॥

Ch. 41. 11-12 (Kumbh. and Citraśālā.)

In XV. 11, the Lord says in the Gītā that only a Kṛtātmā can see Him and not an Akṛtātmā.

यतन्तोऽप्यकृतात्मानो नैनं पश्यन्त्यचेतसः ।

In Udyoga 68, (69 Citraśālā), Dhṛtarāṣṭra asks Sañjaya how Sañjaya could see the Lord and Sañjaya replies:

नाकृतात्मा कृतात्मानं जातु विद्याज्जनार्दनम् ।

Śl. 17 (Kumbh. and Citraśālā.)

and then gives Indriyanigraha as the means:

आत्मनस्तु क्रियोपायो नान्यत्रेन्द्रियनिग्रहात् ।

which the Lord stresses in Gītā, III. 41 and 43.

As the Lord is about to start on his mission, Yudhiṣṭhira argues for peace and points out, like Arjuna in the opening chapter of the Gītā, how unrighteous it is to kill one's own kinsmen:

ये पुनः स्युरसंबद्धाः अनार्याः कृष्ण शत्रवः ।

तेषामप्यवधः कार्यः किं पुनर्ये स्युरीदृशाः ॥

ज्ञातयश्चैव भूयिष्ठाः सहाया गुरवश्च नः ।

तेषां वधोऽतिपापीयान् किन्तु युद्धेऽस्ति शोभनम् ॥

पापः क्षत्रियधर्मोऽयं

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Ch. 71. 52-54 (Kumbh.).

Ch. 72. 44-46 (Citraśālā).

Arjuna spoke in the same language on the field:

आचार्याः पितरः पुत्राः etc.

एतान् न हन्तुमिच्छामि व्रतोऽपि मधुसूदन ।

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स्वजनं हि कथं हत्वा सुखिनः स्याम माधव ॥

And Kṛṣṇa briefly gave to Yudhiṣṭhira the same reply. He gave to Arjuna later:

न भैक्षं क्षत्रियश्चरेत् ।

स्वधर्मः क्षत्रियस्यैष कार्पण्यं न प्रशस्यते ॥

न हि कार्पण्यमास्थाय शक्या वृत्तिर्युधिष्ठिर ।

विक्रमस्व महाबाहो जहि शत्रून् परन्तप ॥

Ch. 73. 3-5 Citraśālā.

which can be placed by the side of the Gītā, II. 3:

क्लैब्यं मा स्म गमः पार्थ नैतत्स्वय्युपपद्यते ।

क्षुद्रं हृदयदौर्बल्यं त्यक्त्वोत्तिष्ठ परन्तप ॥

But again and again, Yudhiṣṭhira asks "How could we kill our elders, preceptors, brothers and sons?" After the war has been decided upon, Yudhiṣṭhira again asks:

कथं ह्यवध्यैः सङ्ग्रामः

कथं हत्वा गुरून् वृद्धान् विजयो नो भविष्यति ॥

Ch. 154. 22. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

and it is now Arjuna who replies: "Kṛṣṇa has settled that there should be war; it cannot be Adharma; so let us fight." Is it this same Arjuna who threw down the Gāṇḍīva in the Gītā?

We have reached the Bhīṣmaparvan now and the armies have gathered on Kurukṣetra. On seeing Bhīṣma at the head of the opposite army, Yudhiṣṭhira again wants to give up war. He tells Arjuna:

धनञ्जय कथं शक्यमस्माभिर्योद्धुमाहवे ।

(Ch. 21. Śl. 31, Citraśālā).

Again it is Arjuna who is clear-headed enough to prop up his fainting brother. Arjuna says:

न तथा बलवीर्याभ्यां जयन्ति विजिगीषवः ।

यथा सत्यानृशंस्याभ्यां धर्मेणैवोद्यमेन च ॥

त्यक्त्वाधर्मं तथा सर्वे धर्मं चोत्तममास्थिताः ॥

युध्यध्वम् अनहङ्काराः यतो धर्मस्ततो जयः ॥

* * * यतः कृष्णस्ततो जयः ॥

(Ch. 21. 10-12 Citraśālā).

In these minor Gītās, it is Yudhiṣṭhira who is the Arjuna; and it is Arjuna who is the Kṛṣṇa. What an irony that he who could say युध्यध्वमनहङ्काराः should himself faint and require the same teaching from his friend and guide, the Lord!

Bhīṣma, the greatest of the figures in the Epic, is himself an example of discharging one's Dharma without passion or pride. He, with Droṇa, fought for Duryodhana, out of a sense of duty. As Karṇa comes to him after his fall, Bhīṣma advises Karṇa—युध्यस्व निरहङ्कारः.

Young Abhimanyu's death is a crisis in Yudhiṣṭhira's mind. Vyāsa here consoles him and takes him out of his dejection with the Gītā-philosophy 'न त्वं शोचितुमर्हसि'.

It is because Arjuna mistakenly considered himself as the agent who was going to destroy the Kauravas, he developed a mistaken pity and talked a clever philosophy of quietism which Kṛṣṇa ridiculed. Kṛṣṇa manifested Himself in His all-consuming form of Kāla and showed him how Arjuna was but a tool, Nimittamātra, nay, how Arjuna had only to kill formally the hosts killed already by the Lord. The Lord says:

कालोऽस्मि लोकक्षयकृत् प्रवृद्धो

लोकान् समहर्तुमिह प्रवृत्तः ।

ऋतेऽपि त्वां न भविष्यन्ति सर्वे

येऽवस्थिताः प्रत्यनीकेषु योधाः ॥

तस्मात्त्वमुत्तिष्ठ यशो लभस्व

जित्वा शत्रून् भुङ्क्स्व राज्यं समृद्धम् ।

मयैवैते निहताः पूर्वमेव

निमित्तमात्रं भव सव्यसाचिन् ॥

द्रोणं च भीष्मं च जयद्रथं च

कर्णं तथान्यानपि योधवीरान् ।

मया हतांस्त्वं जहि मा व्यथिष्ठाः

युध्यस्व जेतासि रणे सपत्नान् ॥ XI. 32-4.

This humility is brought home to Arjuna's mind again in a fine situation in Ch. 203 (202 Citraśālā) of the Droṇaparvan. Arjuna showers arrows and as each arrow goes to kill one, Arjuna sees going in advance of each arrow a resplendent fire-like Being with a trident, killing the enemy in advance; and Arjuna's arrows fall on corpses, though the onlookers think that Arjuna it is who kills the enemies. Vyāsa appears before Arjuna and tells him that that Being is the Lord as Kāla, Rudra, the real destroyer. Arjuna:—

सङ्ग्रामे न्यहनं शत्रून् शरैर्विर्मलैरहम् ।

अप्रतो लक्षये यान्तं पुरुषं पावकप्रभम् ॥

ज्वलन्तं शूलमुद्यम्य यां दिशं प्रतिपद्यते ।

तस्यां दिशि विदीर्यन्ते शत्रवो मे महामुने ॥

तेन भग्नानरीन् सर्वान् मद्भग्नान् मन्यते जनः ।

203. 4-6 (Kumbh.).

202. 4-6 (Citraśālā).

Vyāsa:

ईशानं वरदं पार्थ दृष्टवानसि शङ्करम् ।

गन्धेनापि हि सङ्ग्रामे तस्य क्रुद्धस्य शत्रवः ।

विसंज्ञा हतभूयिष्ठा वेपन्ति च पतन्ति च ॥

(Śls. 10 and 25, Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

The next great situation of grief is for Dhṛtarāṣṭra who loses all his sons in the great war. And Vidura gives him the necessary advice. Here again we hear the Gītā echoing:

Vidura, Strīparvan, Ch. 2.

Gītā, II.

अभावादीनि भूतानि

अव्यक्तादीनि भूतानि

भावमध्यानि भारत ।

व्यक्तमध्यानि भारत ।

अभावनिधनान्येव

अव्यक्तनिधनान्येव

तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ Śl. 6.

तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ Śl. 28.

अदर्शनादापतिताः

पुनश्चादर्शनं गताः ।

नैते तव न तेषां त्वं

तत्र का परिदेवना ॥¹ Śl. 13.

हतो हि लभते स्वर्गं

हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं

जित्वा च लभते यशः । Śl. 14.

जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे महीम् । Śl. 37.

न युद्धादधिकं किञ्चित्

धर्म्याद्धि युद्धात् श्रेयोऽन्यत्

क्षत्रियस्येह विद्यते । Śl. 18.

क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते । Śl. 31.

आत्मैव ह्यात्मनो बन्धुः

Same. Gītā, IV. 5.

आत्मैव रिपुरात्मनः । Śl. 36.(35)

Ch. 3.

Ch. 2. 22.

यथा जीर्णमजीर्णं वा

वासांसि जीर्णानि यथा विहाय

वस्त्रं त्यक्त्वा तु पूरुषः ।

नवानि गृह्णाति नरोऽपराणि ।

अन्यद्रोचयते वस्त्रम्

तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णा-

एवं देहाः शरीराणिः ॥ Śl. 9.

न्यन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही ॥

The crisis which overtook Arjuna at the beginning of the battle overtook Yudhiṣṭhira completely after the end of the battle, especially when he learnt at the time of Tarpaṇa, that Karna was his elder brother. Yudhiṣṭhira became averse to going into the capital and crowning himself as king. The Gītā repeats itself here. Yudhiṣṭhira says:

यद्वैक्ष्यमाचरिष्याम वृष्ण्यन्धकपुरे वयम् ।

ज्ञातीन् निष्पुरुषान् कृत्वा नेमां प्राप्स्याम दुर्गतिम् ॥

Sānti. Ch. 7. 3. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

In the Gītā, Arjuna said:

गुरूनहत्वा हि महानुभावान्

श्रेयो भोक्तुं भैक्ष्यमपीह लोके । II. 5.

1. This verse with a slightly different second half occurs again in Mōkṣadharmā, 174-17, Citraśālā.

Yudhiṣṭhira :

त्रैलोक्यस्यापि राज्येन नास्मान् कश्चित् प्रहर्षयेत् ।

Sānti. Ch. 7. 8.

Arjuna in the Gītā :

अपि त्रैलोक्यराज्यस्य हेतोः किन्नु महीकृते ।

In this context, it is Arjuna who blazes up and asks Yudhiṣṭhira to shake off his Vaiklabya. Bhīma gives Yudhiṣṭhira an effective reply : If by retiring into the forest one could attain salvation, the deer, wild boars and birds should have attained salvation; if by not doing anything, salvation would be in hand, mountains are the greatest Siddhas !

नेमे मृगाः स्वर्गजितो न वराहा न पक्षिणः ।

अथान्येन प्रकारेण पुण्यमाहुर्न ते जनाः ॥

यदि सन्न्यासतः सिद्धिं राजा कश्चिदवाप्नुयात् ।

पर्वताश्च द्रुमाश्चैव क्षिप्रं सिद्धिमवाप्नुयुः ॥

* * * *

तस्मात् कर्मैव कर्तव्यं नास्ति सिद्धिरकर्मणः ।

Ch. 10. 23-28 (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

In Nakula's reply to Yudhiṣṭhira here, we find the Gītā-idea of Akāmakarman done without Ahamkāra—

अभिमानकृतं कर्म नैतत् फलवदुच्यते ।

स्वायुक्तं महाराज सर्वमेव महाफलम् ॥

Ch. 12. 16. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

And then from Śl. 20 Nakula explains why Yajñas were established by Prajāpati, a subject which is similarly treated in Gītā, III. 9-16, सह्यज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा etc. Nakula then mentions several kinds of Yajña, Svādhyāyayajña, Jñānayajña etc. which are spoken of in the Gītā in Ch. IV—Daivayajña, Ātmasaṁyamayajña etc.

Sahadeva's reply here puts in a nutshell that the taint of 'Mamatva' is death, and freedom from it is immortality,—the essence of the Gītā-doctrine of disinterested discharge of duty.

ममेति ब्रह्मरो मृत्युः न ममेति च शाश्वतम् । Ch. 13. 4.

In Ch. 15 here, Arjuna again points out that if fought without hate, taking it as duty, there was no sin in fighting :

मा च ते निघ्नतः शत्रून् मन्युर्भवतु भारत ।
न तत्र किल्बिषं किञ्चिद् हन्तुर्भवति भारत ॥

Ch. 15. 54. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

And varying the simile of body and clothes, Arjuna says that each new body is a new room which the Soul occupies:

यथा हि पुरुषः शालां पुनः संप्रविशेन्नवाम् ।
एवं जीवः शरीराणि तानि तानि प्रपद्यते ॥ etc.

Ch. 15. 57. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

In the next Ch. here, Bhīma expatiates on the Gītā's Guṇa, 'Sāmya', which Bhīma calls the sign of healthiness in man.

तेषां गुणानां साम्यं यत् तदाहुः स्वस्थलक्षणम् ।

Ch. 16. 13. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

Devasthāna then follows with his arguments against Yudhiṣṭhira's viewpoint. Here we find some Gītā-passages and Gītā-ideas occurring. Ch. 21, Śl. 3 (Kumbh. and Citraśālā) here runs thus:

यदा संहरते कामान् कूर्मोऽङ्गानीव सर्वशः ।
तदात्मज्योतिरचिरात् स्वात्मन्येव प्रसीदति ॥¹

which is found in Gītā II, 58 in part. And quite in the Gītā-way is the fifth verse of Devasthāna—

यदासौ सर्वभूतानां न द्रुहति न काङ्क्षति ।
कर्मणा मनसा वाचा ब्रह्म संपद्यते तदा ॥

Ch. 21. 5. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

Vyāsa then appears on the scene and presents to Yudhiṣṭhira the Gītā-doctrine of Svadharma:

स्वधर्मं चर धर्मज्ञ यथाशास्त्रं यथाविधि ।

Ch. 23. 3. (Kumbh. and Citraśālā).

स्वधर्मे वर्तमानस्य सापवादेऽपि भारत ।
एवमात्मपरित्यागः तव राजन्न शोभनः ॥

Ch. 31. 23 (Kumbh.).

Ch. 32. 23 (Citraśālā).

Yudhiṣṭhira points to the lamenting widows of the dead warriors and denounces himself, on hearing which Vyāsa says that neither Bhīma killed nor Arjuna, but God as Kāla. And then after dis-

1. This verse occurs again in Mōkṣadharmā, 174. 51, Citraśālā.

Ch. 224. Śl. 48.

Gītā. III. 20-21.

यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठः

लोकसङ्ग्रहमेवापि

तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ।

संपश्यन् कर्तुमर्हति ।

तस्माल्लोकस्य सिद्धयर्थं

यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठः

कर्तव्यं चात्मसिद्धये ॥

तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ॥

Śānti, 350 Kumbh. 25: The Lord tells Arjuna: यथा प्रमाणं हि कृतं लोकस्समनुवर्तते which is found in the Gītā as: स यत् प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्समनुवर्तते । Compare also Śānti, 350-33 and Gītā VII. 16.

In Ch. 231 (224 Citraśālā) Indra asks Bali who is defeated if he was not griefstricken, to which Bali magnificently replies in the Gītā-spirit, with the refrain—तस्माच्छक्र न शोचामि corresponding to the Gītā's न त्वं शोचितुमर्हसि । Verse 16 (14 Citraśālā) here is the Gītā itself.

हतं हन्ति हतो ह्येव यो नरो हन्ति कञ्चन ।

उभौ तौ न विजानीतः यश्च हन्ति हतश्च यः ॥

Bali tells Indra that God as Kāla has already killed and that Indra need not take pride for his prowess, even as Kṛṣṇa told Arjuna in the Gītā: मयैवैते निहताः पूर्वमेव । Bali says:

दग्धमेवानुदहते(ति) हतमेवानुहन्यते । Śl. 22. (20 Citraśālā)

मा कृथाः शक्र पौरुषम् ॥ Śl. 27. (25 ,,)

Yudhiṣṭhira then asks Bhīṣma about the proper attitude when a calamity befalls one and Bhīṣma narrates the Indra-Namuci-saṁvāda, which is of the same nature as the Indra-Bali-saṁvāda noticed above. With the same message, another Indra-Bali-saṁvāda follows in Ch. 234 (227 Citraśālā), a message which is to be seen effectively expressed in Śl. 65 here—

शोककाले शुचो मा त्वं हर्षकाले च मा हृषः ॥

In the Asita-Jaigīṣavya-saṁvāda in Ch. 236 (229 Citraśālā), Bhīṣma teaches Stuti-Nindā-Avikṛyā, the Nirdvandvatā of the Gītā. In Ch. 245 (230 Citraśālā), Vyāsa enlightens his son Śuka and here we find the 19th verse as one from the Gītā:

विद्याभिजनसंपन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।

शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥¹

1. See also Śānti, Mokṣadharmā, 308, Śls. 32-3 for the same idea and similar expression.

This and some succeeding chapters, Vyāsa calls Sāmkhya. Another Gītā-verse occurring in this Sāmkhya-section of Vyāsa's teaching to his son is—

सर्वतः पाणिपादं तत् सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखम् ।

सर्वतः श्रुतिमल्लोके सर्वमावृत्य तिष्ठति ॥

Ch. 245. 29 (Kumbh). (Ch. 239. 29 (Citraśālā). Gītā XIII, 13. Vyāsa then teaches Yoga in Ch. 246, stressing Sāmya and Nir-dvandva. In Ch. 247 (241 Citraśālā), Śuka asks the question which Arjuna asks in the beginning of Ch. 3 of the Gītā: Why this contradiction—do Karman and give up Karman? कुरु कर्म त्यजेति च । And Vyāsa here gives the reply which Kṛṣṇa gave. In Ch. 257 (251 Citraśālā) is repeated the Gītā-verse आपूर्यमाणमचल-प्रतिष्ठं etc.

In Ch. 268 (262 Citraśālā) a shop-keeper teaches magnificent wisdom to a Brahmin named Jājali. Like the Dharma-vyādha, this shop-keeper does a Svadharmayoga with his avocation¹. He says:

या वृत्तिः स परो धर्मः तेन जीवामि जाजले । Śl. 6.

नानुरुध्ये विरुध्ये वा न द्वेषमि न च कामये ।

समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु पश्य मे जाजले व्रतम् ॥ Śl. 10.

This is followed by a number of verses in the Gītā-manner. In Ch. 270 (264 Citraśālā), the Tulādhāra says:

श्रद्धामयोऽयं पुरुषः यो यच्छ्रद्धः स एव सः । Śl. 17.

which can be found in the Gītā, XVII, 3.

In the next Ch. (265 Citraśālā), Bhīṣma presents the golden mean of युक्ताहारविहार युक्तचेष्ट found in the Gītā.

यथा शरीरं न म्लायेन्नैव मृत्युवशं भवेत् ।

तथा कर्मसु वर्तेत समर्थो धर्ममाचरेत् ॥ Śl. 15. (14 Citraśālā)

In Ch. 275 here, Kapila puts it more definitely—

नानशनः स्यान्न महाशनः स्यात् । (267. 76. Citraśālā)

which echoes the Gītā:

नात्यन्तमश्नतोऽप्यस्ति न चात्यन्तमनश्नतः ।

In Ch. 279 (273 Citraśālā), Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma the question which Arjuna puts in Gītā, III, 36—

1. For a similar Tulādhāracarita, see the Padmapurāṇa (Ānandāśrama edn.) Vol. III, Chs. 47 and 50.

अथ केन प्रयुक्तोऽयं पापं चरति पूरुषः ।

and like Kṛṣṇa, Bhīṣma traces Pāpa to Kāma. (Śls. 3-12).

Ch. 284 (278 Citraśālā) has a Hārīta Gītā; ch. 285 (279 Citraśālā) a Vṛtra Gītā; and chs. 296-304 (290-298 Citraśālā) a Parāśara Gītā, in all of which many Gītā-ideas are given expression to.

In ch. 306, it is pointed out, as in the Gītā, that the Sāmkhya and the Yoga are identical.

उभे चैते मते तत्त्वे मम तात युधिष्ठिर । Śl. 7. (300. 8. Citraśālā)
an idea which is again emphasised in ch. 310-30 and ch. 321. 2-4. (305.19 and 316.4 Citraśālā):

यदेव योगाः पश्यन्ति साङ्ख्यैस्तद्वगम्यते ।

एकं साङ्ख्यं च योगं च यः पश्यति स बुद्धिमान् (तत्त्ववित्) ॥

found almost in identical words in the Gītā, V. 4-5.

In the Āśvamedhika, Yudhiṣṭhira is again sad; the coronation upsets him and a desire to retire into the forests seizes him again. Vyāsa convinces him with Gītā-arguments that Yudhiṣṭhira must stay in the kingdom. In the same context, the Lord Himself tells Yudhiṣṭhira that Kāma can never be eradicated totally but must be turned into paths of Dharma; for has He not said in the Gītā धर्माविरुद्धो भूतेषु कामोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ ? (VI. 11.)

It is in the Āśvamedhika that a supplementary Gītā called the Anugītā, about twice longer than the Bha. Gītā, occurs in chs. 17-51.¹ Arjuna tells Kṛṣṇa that he had forgotten the Gītā and asks Him to repeat His discourse. Kṛṣṇa chides him and gives out his teachings in the form of Itihāsas or old dialogues. This Anugītā is written entirely in the Gītā-spirit and the Gītā-vocabulary. A detailed comparison will be interesting though impossible here. Some striking similarities cannot however be ignored. In ch. 20 here, we find the verses:

सर्वमित्रः सर्वसहः शमे रक्तो जितेन्द्रियः ।

व्यपेतभयमन्युश्च कामहा मुच्यते नरः ॥

1. In the Citraśālā Press Edn., the Anugītāparvan begins at ch. 16 and goes up to the end of the Āśvamedhika in ch. 92. Within this, this Edn. calls ch. 20 *Brahma Gītā*; chs. 21-34, *Brāhmaṇa Gītā*; chs. 35-51, *Guruśiṣyasamvāda*; chs. 53-51, *Uttarīkopākhyāna*.

आत्मवत् सर्वभूतेषु यश्चरेन्नियतः शुचिः ।
 अमानी निरभीमानः सर्वतो मुक्त एव सः ॥
 जीवितं मरणं चोभे सुखदुःखे तथैव च ।
 लाभालाभे प्रियद्वेष्ये यः समः स च मुच्यते ॥
 न कस्यचित् स्पृहयते नावजानाति किञ्चन ।
 निर्द्वन्द्वो वीतरागात्मा सर्वथा मुक्त एव सः ॥

(Ch. 19. 2ff, Citraśālā.)

and so on—verses which ordinarily may be mistaken to occur in the Gītā itself. Having communicated the Anugītā, Kṛṣṇa again asks Arjuna in the same words of the Gītā:

कच्चिदेतत्त्वया पार्थ श्रुतमेकाग्रचेतसा ।

Ch. 20. Śl. 55. (19. 55 Citraśālā.)

Śl. 62 here is, again, a Gītā-verse:

इमं धर्मं समास्थाय येऽपि स्युः पापयोनयः ।
 स्त्रियो वैश्याः तथा शूद्राः तेऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम् ॥
 किं पुनः ब्राह्मणाः पार्थ क्षत्रिया वा बहुश्रुताः ॥

Ch. 20. Śl. 62, (19. 61-62 Citraśālā.)

Ch. 41 (44. Citraśālā) of this Anugītā is a recast of the Vibhūti-yogādhyāya of the Gītā. The difference between these two chapters is that what is called the best of each class in the Vibhūtiyoga-chapter of the Gītā is called here the primal manifestation in that class,—Ādi.

आदित्यो ज्योतिषामादिः अग्निर्भूतादिरुच्यते ।
 सावित्री सर्वविद्यानां देवतानां प्रजापतिः ॥
 ओंकारः सर्ववेदानां वचसां प्राण एव च ।
 गायत्री छन्दसामादिः ।
 गावः चतुष्पदामादिः मनुष्याणां द्विजातयः ।
 श्येनः पतत्रिणामादिः ।
 हिरण्यं सर्वरत्नानाम् ।
 अहं प्रजापतीनां सर्वेषाम् ।
 पर्वतानां महामेरुः etc. ¹

1. For a similar Vibhūti-yoga embodied in a hymn on Śiva in the M. Bhārata itself, see Anuśāsana, ch. 45, Śls. 305-314 and Śānti; 290, 129ff.

The next situation of a Gītā character is Kṛṣṇa's meeting with the Brāhmaṇa Udaṅka (Uttāṅka) who, on hearing of the war and the death of the Kauravas, began to curse Kṛṣṇa because, being capable of preventing that huge man-slaughter, Kṛṣṇa did not do His best to prevent it. Kṛṣṇa laid before Udaṅka the ultimate principles and His own real nature—the same method with which He brought round Arjuna on the battlefield. The whole of ch. 54 is based on the Gītā. One verse can be pointed out as the essence. Kṛṣṇa says (54. 16 Citraśālā):

धर्मस्य सेतुं बध्नामि चलिते चलिते युगे ।

Cf. यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य etc. Gītā. And the Lord then, to complete Udaṅka's understanding, shows him, as He showed Arjuna, His own Viśvarūpa. Udaṅka realises that "All this is the Imperishable Lord Himself":

विश्वकर्मन्मस्तेऽस्तु विश्वात्मन् विश्वसम्भव ।

पद्भ्यां ते पृथिवी व्याप्ता शिरसा चावृतं नमः ॥

द्यावापृथिव्योर्यन्मध्यं जठरेण समावृतम् ।

भुजाभ्यामावृता आशाः त्वमिदं सर्वमच्युत ॥

Āśvam. 55. 12-13. (Kumbh.)

55. 7-8. (Citraśālā.)

APPENDIX

An Alphabetical List of the Gītās.¹

Recent imaginative expounders of the Bhagavad Gītā attach great significance to the name Gītā and, taking suggestion from the meaning 'song', emphasise that this scripture of the Hindus is not a difficult metaphysical text but that, like song, it appeals and produces 'Sāmarasya' and so on. The feminine form 'Gītā' is not quite happy then. It is invariably found, when quoted, in plural number as 'Gītāḥ'. Therefore 'Gītāḥ' does not stand by itself, but qualifies 'Upaniṣadaḥ', which forms the noun. It is only very rarely that 'Gītā' in the singular number occurs. In all the Gītās occurring in the Mahābhārata and in several other contexts of a similar nature in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas also, we find 'Gītām Itihāsam' 'Gītāḥ ślokaḥ'. To this characteristic old

1. With acknowledgments to Mr. E. P. Rādhākṛṣṇan, M.A., who made the provisional compilation of the Gītās.

expression 'Gītāḥ ślokaḥ' 'Gītāḥ Itihāsaḥ' it is that we have to relate the name Gītā. The feminine form however is due to the Bhagavad Gītā, where the noun is 'Upaniṣadah' and it is, again, after the name 'Bhagavad Gītā', that the form in the singular number also became current.

It is natural that the large number of the Gītās has been suggesting the idea of their collected publication to scholars and publishers from time to time. In 1910, Mr. V. Kuppusvāmi Rāju began issuing from Tanjore his "Gītaikkottu" (Bunch of Gītās) with Tamil translations. In 1911 appeared from Calcutta "the Gītāgranthāvalī", twenty-five Gītās with Bengali versions, ed. by Upendranāth Mukhopādhyāya. In 1915, Ashtekar Co. of Poona published a volume of Gītās called the 'Gītāsaṅgraha', being the first part of a series unfortunately discontinued. A number of Gītās still remain to be published as can be seen from the following list.

The Gītās admit of a broad classification into close imitations of the Bhagavad Gītā, short dialogues or discourses of eminent persons on a single or a select number of moral and spiritual principles, like the Mañki, Bodhya and other Gītās in the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata, and others which are mere hymns or glorifications (Māhātmyas) like the Guru Gītā stotra. This classification applies to the Gītās in general and not to the translation of Christian scripture or the account of Gāndhiji's Satyāgraha movement which bear the name Gītā or to the satirical Gītā like the Congress Gītā.

Agastya Gītā.—Varāha purāṇa; chs. 51-67, Venk. edn.; begins on p. 259 (ch. 51) in Bib. Ind. edn. Agastya enlightens King Bhadrāśva. Agastya appears even in ch. 50 describing some Vratas; evidently the theme of 'Vratas' is not enough to make a discourse a 'Gītā'. In ch. 51 Bhadrāśva enquires of Mokṣadharma and here the Agastya Gītā begins. Agastya teaches spiritual wisdom through the parable of king Paśupāla; this Paśupālōpākhyāna extends only up to ch. 53. Then again Agastya begins the Vratas which go up to ch. 65 where the colophon calls the section Agastya Gītā; chs. 66-67 dealing with the greatness and worship of Viṣṇu are also called Agastya Gītā. Even after this Agastya continues to be the speaker.

Adbhuta Gītā or *Nānaka Gītā*.—8 chs. purporting to be an original work of Nānak. Sikhism.

com. Kaiśavapada by Keśavānandasvāmin.

1. I am told that there is also a modern 'छागीता' on 'Tea' belonging to this comic category.

Edn. with Notes and Hindi version by Śaṅkarānanda Avadhūta. Moradabad, 1901. Br. Mu. Pt. Bks. Cat. 1892-1906. Col. 405.¹

Adhyātma Gītā.—Vedānta, Peters VI. 266.

Anu Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Āśvamedhika, chs. 17-95.

For contents etc. *see* body of the article, above.

Arjuna Gītā.—Kṛṣṇārjuna saṁvāda on Sannyāsa. TD. 9094. Other mss. also available.

Avadhūta Gītā.—By Dattātreyā. 8 chs., also called Svātma-saṁvittiyupadeśa; in some colophons is added 'Svāmi Kārtika saṁvāde' the meaning of which is not borne out by the text, the first three chapters of which are put in the mouth of 'Avadhūta' and the rest in the mouth of Datta.

Subject Advaita; sings eloquently of the state in which Advaita has been realised. Śls. 2-4, in last ch., are found in the Bhāgavata, XI, ch. 11 (Śls. 29-31) also.

The above account is based on a pocket edn. of this Gītā, of the N. S. Press, 1913. It is included in the Gītā saṅgraha (No. 8). Other edns. also are available. This Gītā has been commented upon by many.

In the Mss. MD. 4543 MT. 3231. 4063. 4115. 4249, the work is also called Avadhūta grantha and is described as a dialogue between Dattātreyā and Gorakṣa. In some other Mss. it is called 'Śvātmopadeśa' and 'Datta Gītā' or 'Dattātreyā Gītā' also. B. IV. 30 and 90 mention a Vidyā Gītā by Dattātreyā and B. IV. 36, an Adbhuta Gītā by the same. These two are evidently the same Avadhūta Gītā of which name *Adbhuta Gītā* seems to be a corruption.

In a Jodhpur ms. (No. 871) this Avadhūta Gītā of Dattātreyā is assigned to the Simhādrīkhaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa. Jodhpur has a Datta Gorakṣa Gītā. Is it identical with this Gītā? Hiralal's CPB Catalogue mentions a Gorakṣa Gītā assigned to Dharma(?)—no. 1508.

In three Tanjore mss. (TD. 7589-91), this work is called Vedāntasāra.

Avadhūta Gītā.—The Bhāgavata, XI. chs. 7 Śl. 25-9. Śl. 29. Kumbh. edn. This section is not called a Gītā in the Kumbh. edn. but is so called in a ms. for which *see* L. 4047.

Āsmaka Gītā.—The Mokṣasāmrajyalakṣmītantra is a compilation of moral and spiritual texts embodying many well-known texts

1. The abbreviations used here for catalogues are as found in the Provisional Fasciculus of the New Catalogus Catalogorum of the Madras University.

and extracts therefrom. One of these is given as the *Aśmaka Gītā* from the *Rājadharmā* section of the *Mahābhārata*. See T.D. Vol. XIII. p. 5659. This *Aśmaka Gītā* is ch. 27 Kumbh., ch. 28 *Citraśālā*, of the *Rājadharmā*, where *Aśmā*, a *Brāhmaṇa*, teaches king Janaka the moral principles to be observed by kings. Neither edition of the Epic, however, calls this ch. *Aśma Gītā*, though Sl. 2 here has the words '*Aśma Gītam (itihāsam)*' which mode of expression forms the basis for the names *Mañki Gītā*, *Bodhya Gītā* etc.

Aṣṭāvakra Gītā or *Avadhūtānubhūti*, or *Aṣṭāvakrasaṁhitā*, or *Aṣṭ. sūkta*, or *Adhyātmasāstra*, or *Aṣṭāvakra* simply, or *Aṣṭ. grantha*, or *Aṣṭ. prakaraṇa*. *Advaita*. *Aṣṭāvakra's* teachings to king Janaka. 20 or 21 short chs.

Numerous mss., many edns. No. 7 in the *Gītāsaṅgraha*.

Ātmadarśana Gītā by *Buddhisāgara*. Jain modern; 182 stanzas. Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1906-28. 202.

Īśvara Gītā.—Sometimes called *Śiva Gītā* also. *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Uttarabhāga*, chs. 1-11, forming the first part of *Vyāsagītā* which is another name of the whole of Book II of the *Kūrmapurāṇa*.

Subject: Adv., Yoga, Śiva-bhakti. Speaker: Śiva. Verses: 426.

Many parallels in thought and expression between this and *Bha. Gītā*. Here Śiva as Cosmic dancer, shows his dancing *Viśvarūpa* form, which is first described and is then followed by a hymn. Another noteworthy parallel is a *Vibhūtiyoga* ch. containing numerous verbal parallels with the same in the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

1. English Transl. by L. Kannoo Mal, M. A. Motilal Banarsi Das, Lahore, 1924. Intro. draws attention to *Gītā*-parallels.

2. L'Īśvaragītā, Fr. Edn. Text in Roman with Fr. Transl., Intro., Notes, and concordance of parallels with *Bh. gītā*, *Śvetāśvatara* and *Kaṭha Upan.*

Utathya Gītā.—*Mahābhārata*, *Sānti*, *Rājadharmā*, chs. 90-91, *Citraśālā* Press Edn. Subject: *Rājadharmā*; expounded by sage *Utathya* to king *Māndhātā*.

Kumbh. chs. 90-91, but here not called a *Gītā* but only *Ucathya Māndhātṛsaṁvāda*.

Uttara Gītā.—a *Kṛṣṇa-Arjuna saṁvāda* in three chs. on *Pranava* and its *Upāsana* and other *Advaitic* principles; sometimes ascribed to the *Āśvamedhikaparvan* and sometimes to the *Bhīṣma-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, but occurring in neither parvan in the Great Epic; frequently confounded with the *Anugītā*, an almost identical name, occurring in the *Āśvamedhika* of the Great Epic Edn. *Vāṇī Vilās*, *Śrī Raṅgam*, 1910 with a *Garudapāda's* gloss.

Uttara Gītāsāra.—Advaita. Mysore II, p. 22. Extracts from this ms. were got and the text calls itself at the beginning *Gītāsāra* and *Uttaragītāsāra* in the colophon. It purports to contain 22 chs. of which the last is described as *Gītāsārayoga*. It assigns itself to the Bhīṣmaparvan.

Beginning:

अर्जुन उवाच—

वेदादिमूलं सकलस्वराणाम् + त्रिरत्नमूलं पुरुषं नमामि ॥ गीतासारं
महापुण्यं यः पठेत् सततं नरः । etc.

End: यत्र योगीश्वरः कृष्णः etc. Follows another mystifying verse: स्वाभ्याम् (?) तु सुलभो ह्यात्मा नाभ्यामुपरि तिष्ठति । द्वाभ्यां त्रिभिः चतुर्भिश्च पञ्चभिः षड्भिः जगदिति ॥

Col: इति श्रीमहाभा० शतसा० वैया० भीष्मपर्वणि उत्तरगीता-
सारोपनिषत्सु परब्रह्मविद्यायां योग० श्रीकृष्ण० गीतासारयोगो नाम द्वा-
विंशोऽध्यायः ॥

This is a text different from the *Uttara Gītā* and the *Gītā* also.

Uddhava Gītā.—The teachings of Kṛṣṇa to Uddhava in Skandha XI of the Śrīmad Bhāgavata purāṇa appear to have this name also. See Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1892-1906. Col. 492.

R̥bhu Gītā.—Advaita; 27 chs.; from the Śivarahasya, Book VI. Adyar I. p. 136a. Alwar 2063. Extr. 612. L. 2333. MD. 4567. Many more mss.

A Tamil transl. of this by Pichu Sāstrin alias Lokanāthasvāmin is available in print. There is an edn. in Telugu script with Telugu rendering.

R̥ṣabha Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Rājadharmā, chs. 125-128 Citraśālā. On 'Āśā'; dialogue between sage R̥ṣabha and king Sumitra; same chs. in Kumbh. but not called *Gītā* there.

R̥ṣabha Gītā.—On the Avatāra of Viṣṇu called R̥ṣabha. Hpr. III. 45.

Paliyam 871 (d) is entered as a R̥ṣabha Gītā without any more specification.

Aila Gītā.—The Bhāgavata, XI. 26. Kumb. edn. On Duṣṭasaṅga and Satsaṅga.

Om̐kāra Gītā.—TD. 23943. Is this Om̐kāramāhātmya or the *Gītāsāra* for which see TD. 8930.

Kapila Gītā.—The Bhāgavata, Skandha III, chs. 25-32 Kumb. edn. Kapila's teachings to His mother Devahūti.¹

Included in the Gītāsaṅgraha. (No. 6).

Kapila Gītā.—A Vedantic dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī in 5 chs. For an analysis of its contents see L. 1676. MD. 4343. TD. 8998. The last ms. adds the information that this Gītā belongs to the Padmapurāṇa.

Different from this, there is a Yogic text in 5 chs. ascribed to Kapilamuni and called in the colophons and outer sheets of mss. *Drṣṭāntara*, *Kapila Gītā* and *Siddhāntāsāra Kapilā Gītā*. See TD. 6737-6742 and notes on these mss. on p. 4967, TD. XI. For a Siddhāntāsāra which is said to be from the Padmapurāṇa, is a Saṁvāda between Kapila and Siddharṣi and is also called Kapila Gītā, see TD. 6753.

Karma Gītā.—Ascribed to Padma purāṇa, but not found in the Ānandāśrama edn. of that purāṇa. Kṛṣṇārjunasaṁvāda; on Karmans, good and bad, and their consequences. Very defective Sanskrit.

TD. 9054. Telugu Academy 58. Ujjain 1726.

Kāvaṣeya Gītā.—Granthappura p. 6. Descriptive catalogue of the same, Vol. I, nos. 107-8.

In both these mss., there is a gloss which informs us that the Kāvaṣeyas imparted this Gītā to Durvāsa; that this Gītā appears in the Vyāsa-Sanatkumāra saṁvāda in the Brahmapurāṇa.

The Ānandāśrama edn. of the Brahma however, does not contain any Gītā like this.

Kāśī Gītā.—Another name, according to MD. 2462, of the Pañcakrośīmāhātmya on the greatness on the Ganges, from the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa.

[*Kṛṣṇa Gītā*.—TD. 9098. The New Tanjore catalogue is wrong in describing this as a Gītā. It is, as Burnell says, a commentary on the M. Bhārata, Paulomaparvan.]

Kaula Gītā.—Śākta. Adyar II. p. 184b.

Khrīṣṭu Gītā.—14 chs. A Sanskrit version of the Bible.

1. There is an imitation and reproduction of this in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, ch. 7, where like Kapila teaching His mother Devahūti, Rāma teaches His mother, Kausalyā. The following is a concordance of the corresponding verses in the two places:

Adhy. Utt. VII.		Bhāgavata, III. 29.
Śls. 52-66	=	Śls. 7-21.
„ 67-70	=	„ 24-27.
Śl. 71	=	Śl. 34.
„ 73	=	„ 35.

The verses are identical except for some verbal changes.

MD. 14933. 14934.

Gaṇeśa Gītā.—Dialogue between Gaṇeśa and Varenya. Gaṇeśa Himself as supreme God expounds Karma (4 chs.), Bhakti (4 chs.) and Jñāna (3 chs.). Verbal imitations of the Bhagavad Gītā abound here; 11 chs.

Edn. Ānandāśrama 52, with Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara's gloss.

Found as chs. 138-148 of the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Gaṇeśa purāṇa, Gopāl Nārāyan Co., Bombay, 1892.

4th in the collection Gītāsaṅgraha.

Garbha Gītā.—8 chs. Vedānta. L. 2143. TD. 9056-64. MD. 2413-16. Mysore I. p. 177 (from M. Bhā.). Dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna.

The colophons to MD. 2413 and TD. 9056 consider this as a part of the Bha. Gītā itself! named after the opening गर्भवासज्जगमृत्युः etc. Arjuna asks why man should inhabit a womb, be born, grow old, die etc. Defective Sanskrit.

Ak. 129 is a Garbha Gītā said to be from the Viṣṇupurāṇa; Ak. 129.

Ānandāśrama 3205 is a गर्भगीता given as mantra.

Ed. by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya in his collection of Gītās.

Gītā prapūrti.—A series of extracts from the Śrīmad Bhāgavatapurāṇa so as to form a supplement expanding the teachings of the Gītā!; with a gloss. By Gaura Govindarāya; Calcutta 1902. Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1892-1906. Col. 491.

Guru Gītā.—According to Adyar II. app. b, there is a Guru Gītā belonging to the Viśvasāratānta.

L. 445 and Cs. V. 18: Guru Gītā ascribed to the Rudrayāmala or the Brahmayāmala.

Some entries ascribe it to Vyāsa. B. IV. 50. Oppert 7466 (Vedānta).

Numerous mss. of a Guru Gītā from the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Skāndapurāṇa are found in the Catalogues.

The text in all these seems to be the same, styled a stotra, on the greatness of 'preceptor'.

Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1892-1906. Col. 508 mentions a Guru Gītā or Sujñānadīpa in 4 chs., supposed to be from Skānda, Uttarakhaṇḍa, the theme being 'Advaita-teachers'.

Goraṅganātha Gītā.—CPB. notices a Gītā of this name and gives the author as Goraṅganātha and subject as Dharma! Jodhpur

1. On the Gītā and the Bhāgavata, see Dr. V. Raghavan, J.O.R. Madras, Vol. IX, pp. 156-169; 238-254.

has a Gorakṣa Gītā under Yoga and a Datta Gorakṣa Gītā under Tantra. Ujjain, no. 1728, is an anon. Gorakṣa Gītā and in the Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 18-2-1906, Cols. 391-2, we find a Gorakṣa-nātha Gītā, Saptasloki, Yoga, a panegyric on Gorakṣanātha.

Govinda Gītā.—Oppert P. 7545.

Is this a mistake for 'Gītagovinda'?

Janma Gītā.—CPB. 1731. Dharma?

Jīvanmukti Gītā.—TD. 9089. 9090. Kṛṣṇārjunasaṁvāda; defective Sanskrit; on the characteristics of the Jīvanmuktas.

AK. 758 has a Jīvanmukti Gītā which is ascribed to Dattātreya, to whom the Avadhūta Gītā is attributed. The Tanjore text of the Jīvanmukti Gītā does not agree with any part of Dattātreya's Avadhūta Gītā.

Jñāna Gītā.—Advaita. No. XXXVI of the Jaṭāsankar Mss. in the H. P. T. College, Nasik.

Tattva Gītā.—A medical tract in 18 chs. Vaiṣṇava; Bhakti; purporting to belong to a 'Mūlaveda'. Edn. with Gujarati transl., com. etc. by Bhajanānanda Guru Brahmānanda, Vithalpur, Ahmedabad, 1911. Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1906-28, Col. 1080.

Tattvasāra Gītā.—Ānandāsrama 6631. Compare Sāra Gītā below. Compare Tattvasāra, TD. 6736, a Saṁvāda between Īśvara and Kārttikeya on Yogic and Vedāntic topics in six chapters.

Tulasī Gītā.—Ed. in the Gītāgranthāvalī by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya, Calcutta. 1911.

Dāyādo Gītā (David Gītā).—Oppert's old Index to the mss. in the Govt. Ori. Mss. Library, Madras.

This seems to be identical with the Sanskrit metrical version of "The Psalms of David" made by the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries with Native Assistants, printed in Devanāgarī at Calcutta in 1839 and in Telugu characters at Madras in 1843. American Mission Press, Madras 1849. In this last mentioned edn., the book is not called 'Gītā' but 'Gītāni'.

Devī Gītā.—Assigned to the Kūrmapurāṇa. Hpr. I. 174. This is represented by ch. 12 of the Kūrma, Bib. Ind. edn., where however, the name Devī Gītā is not given. Devī, as soon as She is born as daughter to Himavān shows him Her Viśvarūpa, telling Him in the words of the Gītā:

दिव्यं ददामि ते चक्षुः पश्य मे रूपमैश्वरम् ।

Himavān has a prayer on Her in which the Vibhūtiyoga of the Gītā repeats itself; see pp. 130-131. Then Devī gives Upadeśa to Her father Himavān, pp. 136-143, in which Gītā-ideas and Gītā-phrases occur.

Devī Gītā.—Devībhāgavata, 7th Skandha. Venk. edn. Chs. 31-34. Devī as daughter of Himavān expounds Her true form. Bhakti, Karman and Jñāna to Her father.

Also called Bhagavatī Gītā. No. 5 in the Gītāsāṅgraha.

Dhīśa Gītā.—A metrical exposition, in 7 chs., of monism and Yoga, cosmology and theology by Gaṇeśa. Benares, 1920, Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1906-28, Col. 276.

Nānaka Gītā.—See Adbhuta Gītā above.

Nārada Gītā.—On Gurubhakti; Kṛṣṇa Nārada saṁvāda; 42 verses; defective Sanskrit.

IO. 5982. TD. 9091. Other Mss. also available. Printed: Benares, 1915.

Nārāyaṇa Gītā.—Rāmānanda sect, by Nīlakaṇṭha. Oxf. 302.

Nīlā Gītā.—30 psalms. Sanskrit translation of the Tamil Tiruppāvai of Śrī Āṇḍāl or Gōḍādēvī, by Govardhanam Raṅgācārya. Bangalore 1898. Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1892-1906. Col. 428.

Parama Gītā.—BORI. 407 of 1895-1902. Mr. P. K. Gode was kind enough to supply me with extracts from this ms. In two colophons it is called Paramasāra Gītā and in one verse at the end Dharma Gītā. The final colophon calls it Parama Gītā. 16 chs. Jaina Dharma.

Parāśara Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharmā. Chs. 296-304. 291-298. Citraśālā. Parāśara teaches Janaka; subject: Dharma with reference to the different Varṇas and Āśramas and with general reference to Mokṣa.

Included also in Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya's Gītā-granthāvalī.

Pāṇḍava Gītā.—Also called Prapanna Gītā.

Numerous Mss. and edns. Available in the Bṛhatstotraratnākara. No. 12 in the Gītāsāṅgraha. Mostly prayers to Kṛṣṇa, one verse spoken by each of the characters of the M. Bhārata and other sages.

Pitṛ Gītā.—Varāhapurāṇa, Bib. Ind. Edn., pp. 100-101. On Śrāddha; Ślokas sung by the manes: Ch. 13. Śls. 49-59.

Included also in the Gītāgranthāvalī of Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya.

Pitṛgītā [Kathana].—On Pitṛbhakti, Fl. 19; claims to form part of Takṣakavaimśaparakāśa of the Padmapurāṇa. 42 verses. I am not able to find this out in the Ānandāśrama edn. of the Padmapurāṇa in four volumes.

Prithivī Gītā.—Ed. in the Gītāgranthāvalī by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya.

Praṇava Gītā.—Spoken by Sūtapaurāṇika. Mysore I. p. 177. TD. 9093.

Prapanna Gītā.—Another name of Pāṇḍava Gītā. See above.

Prākṛta Gītā (?)—Upaniṣadbrahma Mutt. 589.

Bodhānanda Gītā.—A metrical summary in 12 chs. of 10 principal Upaniṣads by Bodhānandayaṅvan, pupil of Brahmānanda. Kalpati 1909. Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1906-28. Col. 174.

Bodhya Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharmā, ch. 177, Śls. 57-68 Kumbh. 178 Citraśālā. On Nirveda in all desires.

Included in the Gītāgranthāvalī.

Brahma Gītā.—Yogavāsiṣṭha¹, N. S. Edn. 1918, VI, (Nirvāṇa-prakarāṇa) Uttarārḍha, ch. 128 and 173-186. Advaita.

Included in the Gītāsaṅgraha. No. 13b.

Brahma Gītā.—Skānda, Sūtasamhitā, 4th section called Yajñavaibhavakhaṇḍa, Uparibhāga, Chs. 1-12. Brahman expounds Advaita and the greatness of Śiva. Edn. Ānandāśrama 25 with Mādhavācārya's gloss.

Included as No. 13a in the Gītāsaṅgraha.

Brāhmaṇa Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Āśvamedhika, Anugītā subsection Chs. 20-34. Ch. 20 is called Brahma Gītā in the Citraśālā edn. which is evidently an error for Brāhmaṇa Gītā. The Kumbh. Edn. does not give such a sub-division of the Anugītā.

Bhakta Gītā.—See Auf. CC. I. p. 389b (Rādh. 43) where a Bhakta Gītā Tīkā is noticed.

Bhagavatī Gītā.—Another name of the Devī Gītā from the Devībhāgavata. See Devī Gītā above.

Bhāvānīśaṅkara Gītā.—A part of the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa. See MD. 2141, p. 1457, (colophon) and IO. 3422. (colophon).

Bhikṣu Gītā.—S. R. Bhaṇḍarkar's Report of II Tour. in Rajaputana and Central India, p. 9. Ānandāśrama 3274. Edn. with Bengali transl. Calcutta, 1876.

This is evidently ch. 23 of Skandha 11 of the Śrīmad Bhāgavata, dealing with the ways to put up with sorrow and other afflictions.

Bhṛgu Gītā.—TD. 9092.

Maṅki Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharmā, ch. 176, Śls. 4-54. Kumbh. 177 Citraśālā.

On the greater happiness of the renunciation of wishes as compared to their gratification.

1. Yogavāsiṣṭha, Nirvāṇa prakaraṇa, chs. 52-58, contain the largest number of quarter, half and full Gītā stanzas. See Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Bha. Gītā, by Mr. P. C. Divanji, Proceedings of the 12th Indian Philosophical Congress, 1936.

Included in the Gītāgranthāvali.

Mṛtyuñjaya Gītā.—Hara gaurī saṁvāda. On Japa, Stotra, Brahmācintā etc. Hpr. I. 291.

Yama Gītā.—Agnipurāṇa, ch. 382. Ānandāśrama edn. Yama's spiritual teachings to Naciketas.

Included in the Gītāsaṅgraha. No. 10(c).

Yama Gītā.—Viṣṇudharma; Dharmarāja-yamadūta saṁvāda; ch. 20. On the avoiding of the Vaiṣṇavas by Death and his agents. MD. 14323.

The colophon does not give the name Yamagītā.

Yama Gītā.—From the Viṣṇupurāṇa, III. ch. 7.

This is however not called Yamagītā in the Venk. edn. of the Viṣṇupurāṇa.

Included in the Gītāsaṅgraha. No. 10(a).

All the Yama Gītās, except the one in the Agnipurāṇa, are of the same topic: Yama's instructions to his Bhaṭas not to touch devotees of Viṣṇu.

Yama Gītā.—Skānda. Lz. 333. Yama's instructions to his agents not to approach for killing the devotees of Viṣṇu. Similar eulogies of Viṣṇubhaktas by Yama occur in the Viṣṇupurāṇa, III. and the Bhāgavata, Ajāmilopākhyāna.

Yama Gītā.—From the Nṛsimhapurāṇa, ch. 8. Gopal Narayan & Co. Edn. (1911). Subject same as in the above.

Included in the Gītāsaṅgraha. No. 10(b).

BBRAS. 134⁸. Yama Gītā stotra from the Skānda.

Yājñavalkya Gītā.—In 12 chs.; a dialogue between sage Yājñavalkya and Gārgī, his wife.

Calcutta Skr. College, III. 96; IO. 2494-5994; MD. 4362-4; TD. 6745-6746.

Different from this is the text (in 12 chs.) of the Yogiyājñavalkya (IO. 2495), though the Y. Gītā is also called in some mss. Yoga Y. Gītā. The Yogiyājñavalkya is addressed by Y. to the sages.

The Yā. Gītā is also called Yā. Saṁhitopaniṣad.

For edns. see Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1892-1906, Col. 391-2.

Yoga Gītā.—Ānandāśrama 7657. Jodhpur. p. 56.

Rāgi Gītā.—Quoted by Vidyāranya in his Bṛhadāranyakabhāṣyavārtikasāra, Chowkamba Edn. 1919, p. 57, Śl. 49. See also the Taittirīyāranyakabhāṣya of Sāyaṇa, Ānandāśrama Edn., Pt. II, p. 472.

‘तथा च रागिगीतायां पठ्यते वचनं त्विदम् ।

अपि वृन्दावने शून्ये शृगालत्वं स इच्छति ।

न तु निर्विषयं मोक्षं कदाचिदपि गौतम ॥’

Rāma Gītā.—Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, ch. 5. Śls. 1-62. Rāma's Upadeśa to Lakṣmaṇa. See Calcutta Skr. Series Edn. Pt. II. pp. 909-1001. Advaita. For an English transl. of this, see above edn., Pt I. Intro. pp. 60-69. Included in the Gītā-saṅgraha as No. 2. See also Bṛhatstotra Ratnākara, Gujarathi Press Edn. Vol. II. pp. 533 ff.

Rāma Gītā.—From the Tattvasārāyaṇa; 18 chs. Ed. by G. Krishna Sastri, Adyar, Ātmavidyā Series, I. *Ibid.* II, transl. in English.

For Mss. see Adyar I. p. 140a. This expounds the Anubhāvadvaita.

Rāma Gītā.—Skānda, Nirvāṇakaṇḍa; different from the previous; in 3 chs. (?).

For a Ms. see Cs, IV, 290.

Rāmagītāstotra.—Lz. 197, 3. Ascribed to Rāmānuja (?).

Rāsa Gītā.—Said to be from the Rāsollāsatantra.

Included in the Gītāgranthāvali.

Rudra Gītā.—The Bhāgavata, IV. 24. Śls. 33-79. Kumbh. edn. Rudra on Viṣṇu's greatness. Some Mss. call this Rudra Gītā, though it is not so called in the Kumbh. edn.

Alwar 2325. Bhan Dāji, 71. Kotah 1077.

Rudra Gītā.—Varāhapurāṇa, Chs. 70-89.

Agastya who is the speaker in the previous chs. introduces Rudra in ch. 70 and makes Him speak about Viṣṇu as the supreme object of worship. Poor Śiva is made to say that He invented the ‘Mohaśāstra’ of Pāśupata to delude some people, and in ch. 71 is made to invent a story to explain why He gave out that Śāstra. In ch. 73 Viṣṇu shows Rudra His own Nārāyaṇa form, on the waters with Brahman in his naval. Rudra has a hymn on this form; this ch. corresponds to the Viśvarūpadarśana and Arjuna's prayer to Viśvarūpa in the Bhagavad Gītā. In ch. 74 Rudra begins a mythological geography, history and cosmogony, Bhuvanakośa, a prose account, with which the Rudra Gītā ends in ch. 89. See Bib. Ind. Edn. of 1893, Varāhapurāṇa.

Rudra Gītā.—Chs. 6-10, IV Pāda, of the Bṛhad Brahma Samhitā of the Nārada-pañcarātra. See ch. 6, Śl. 1 for the name. Viṣṇubhakti and Advaita Vedānta. Rudra enlightening king Bhadrabāhu. See Ānandāśrama edn. of the Bṛhad Brahma Samhitā.

Laghu Gītā.—In 18 verses; perhaps the well-known 18 verses from the 18 chs. of the Bhagavad Gītā.

Mysore I. p. 628. S. R. Bhandarkar, Deccan College Catalogue, p. 449. No. 572.

Vasiṣṭha Gītā.—Yoga Vāsiṣṭha, N.S. Edn. 1918, VI (Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa), Uttarārḍha, Chs. 39-40 on Svabhāvaviśrānti and Ātmaviśrānti.

Vāmadeva Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Rājadharmā. Chs. 92-94, Citraśālā Press Edn. Subject: Rājadharmā; expounded by sage Vāmadeva to king Sumanas.

Kumbh. Chs. 92-94. Calls this only Vāmadeva Sumanas Saṁvāda.

Vicakṣnu Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharmā, Ch. 265 Citraśālā. On Ahimsā and vegetarian offerings to God. Kumbh. Ch. 271, not called Gītā here; king given as Vicakhyu.

Viratagītā (ā).—Keonjhar 67.

Vṛtra Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharmā, Ch. 265 Kumbh. Chs. 279-280 Citraśālā. Sāmya again,—‘न शोचामि न हृष्यामि’.

Vedānta Gītā.—A compilation based on the Bhagavad Gītā and other sources, supporting the Nimbārka school. Edn. Br̥ndāvan 1911.

Vaiṣṇava Gītā.—Kṛṣṇārjuna saṁvāda. On the superiority of the Vaiṣṇavas. Hpr. I. 343. Kotah. 1082. Peters. IV. 24.

Included in the Gītāgranthāvalī.

Vyāsa Gītā.—The Uttarabhāga or the latter half of the Kūrmapurāṇa, in 45 chs., in which Vyāsa is the speaker, is called the Vyāsagītā. See Bib. Ind. edn.

Chs. 1-11 in this Vyāsagītā form the Īśvaragītā in which Īśvara is the sub-speaker.

Therefore sometimes, chs. 12-45 alone are referred to as Vyāsagītā.

The Vyāsagītā deals with Āśramadharma, Smṛti-topics, Māhātmyas etc. and is thus of miscellaneous contents.

Samyāka Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, Mokṣadharmā, ch. 175. Kumbh. 173 Citraśālā, which calls this Śāmpāka Gītā. ‘Sukha-duḥkhādinirdvandvatā’ is inculcated. See esp. Śl. 5 Kumbh.

Saṅkara Gītā.—Viṣṇudharmottara, Veṅkateśvara Press edn., I. Khaṇḍa. Chs. 52-65. A dialogue between Paraśurāma and Saṅkara, the latter enlightening the former on Viṣṇu, His worship and on the stories of the Avatāras, Nṛsimha, Vāmana and Trivikrama. Ch. 56 here is called ‘विष्णोः दिव्यविभूतिवर्णनम्’ and it is

almost a reproduction with some verbal changes of the Vibhūti Yogādhyāya of the Gītā. Ample correspondence with the Bhagavad Gītā is seen in this Gītā.

A Śaṅkara Gītā is quoted by Hemādri and Śūlapāṇi in the Kālamādhava.

Śaṅkara Gītā.—Different from the previous; Umāmaheśvara saṁvāda; MD. 2544; this Ms. contains two chs. both dealing with Chāyāpuruṣa.

Śānti Gītā.—On resignation and the supreme Truth; by Kāśī-nātha Musthauphi with a copious Bengali commentary by his nephew. Calcutta. 1897. Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1892-1906. Col. 298. Found also in the Gītāgranthāvalī.

Śiva Gītā.—When Rāma is suffering in his lovelorn state after separation from Sītā in the Daṇḍaka forests, Agastya and Śiva advise him. Philosophy—Advaita plus Śivabhakti. Verses of Gītā and Upaniṣadic passages found profusely. Here also a Viśvarūpadarśana and stuti occur. 16 chs. According to the colophon, part of the Padmapurāṇa, Uparibhāga but not traceable in the Ānandāśrama edn. of the Padma in 4 vols. In L. 1488, however, this same text is ascribed to the Matsya, Uttarakhaṇḍa.

Edn. (1) Jaffna, Kali 5016, in Grantha characters with a Tamil transl. by M. Muthukkumarasvami Gurukkal.

(2) With Paramaśivendra Sarasvatī's gloss, Vāṇī Vilās Press, Śrīraṅgam, 1906 (Chs. 1-3).

(3) N. S. Press, Bombay (full). 1909.

(4) No. 4 in the Gītāsaṅgraha.

Śiva Gītā.—Is quoted many times in the Nityācārapradīpa of Narasimha, Bib. Ind. Edn., Vol. II.

The Śiva Gītā quoted by Hemādri in Pariśeṣa, 2, 74, as from the Viṣṇudharmottara, is the Śaṅkara Gītā; see above.

Stein 215 gives a Śivagītā from the Śivapurāṇa; the Venk. edn. of the Śivapurāṇa does not contain a Gītā like this.

Oppert, Rice and a Benares Skr. College catalogue speak of a Śiva Gītā from the Skānda.

Śivarāma Gītā.—Yoga and Advaita. Said to form part of a work called Śukodaya otherwise known as Advaitasudhārāsa in which Śiva and Rāma converse.

Adyar I. p. 140. M. T. 329 (11 chs.) Mysore I. p. 178.

Śivaśaṅkara Gītā.—Quoted by Mādhava in his Kālanirṇaya, p. 114, A.S.B. edn. by Candrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra.

Śivottara Gītā.—MT. 4063 (t) on Śivamāhātmya, in 3 Paṭalas, said to form part of the Harivaṁśa; colophons similar to those found in the Bha. Gītā.

Kṛṣṇa-Arjuna saṁvāda in Dvārakā when the two were sitting at ease.

Called *Siva Uttara-gītā* evidently to distinguish it from the more well-known Uttara-gītā expounded by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna, in which Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu is glorified.

Not found in the Venk. edn. of the Harivaṁśa.

Śiṣṭa Gītā.—By a pupil of Nimbārka, Nimbārka school. Ak. 450, 5. Bhr. 83. CPB. 5821. S.R. Bhandarkar, Deccan College, p. 249. No. 83.

Śruti Gītā.—The praise of God by the Vedas themselves. The Bhāgavata X. 87. Kumb. edn. Has many commentaries.

Śaḍja Gītā.—Found in the collection 'Gītāgranthāvalī'.

Sadāśiva Gītā.—Quoted by Sundaradeva. Hall p. 18. Aufrecht CC. I. p. 691 b.

There is a ms. of this name in the Ānandāśrama, Poona (No. 3985).

Is this identical with any of the Śiva Gītās given above?

Sanat Kumāra Gītā.—8 chs. from the Sanat Kumārasaṁhitā of the Skānda. MT. 3628 (b). See also BP. Introduction p. 4.

Sannyāsa Gītā.—17 chs. by Yājñavalkya. Benares edn. 1917. (Br. Mu. Ptd. Bks. 1906-1928, Col. 937). Is this the Yājñavalkya Gītā or the Yogiyājñavalkya?

Sāra Gītā.—Aufrecht's CC. mentions two Gītās of this name on I. p. 713a, one as a sequel to the Bhagavad Gītā and the other as dealing with Yoga. W. p. 358. Oudh. 1877, 64. Hall p. 15. NW. 412.

Compare Tattvasāra Gītā above.

Siddha Gītā.—Yogavāsiṣṭha, V (Upaśamaprakaraṇa, Ch. 8, pp. 563-564, N.S. Edn. 1818. Advaita.

Siddha Gītā.—Jodhpur. p. 60. Fl. p. 152.

Identical with the Siddha Gītā noted above?

Siddhānta Gītā.—Kṛṣṇārjuna saṁvāda in 8 chs. Adyar I. p. 135b. L. 303. TD. 9025-9027. Purports to be a part of Atharvaṇa vedarahasya. In TD. 9027, the colophon adds that this pertains to the Laghunārāyaṇopaniṣad (to be contrasted with the Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad!) of the Atharvaṇavedarahasya.

Siddhāntasāra Kapila Gītā.—See above under the second Kapila Gītā.

Sudarśana Gītā.—Chs. 2-13, Pāda I, the Bṛhad Brahmā Saṁhitā of the Nārada-pāñcarātra. Devotion to Viṣṇu. Chs. 3-13 deal with the story of the devotee Śrīvatsa after whom the chapters have the sub-title, Śrīvatsacarita. In ch. 13, Śl. 228, this section is given the name 'Sudarśana Gītā'. See also L. 4191.

See Ānandāśrama Edn. of the Bṛhad Brahma Samhitā.

Sūksma Gītā.—IO. Ptd. Bks. II. i. 1897. p. 214.

Sūta Gītā.—Skānda, Sūtasamhitā, 4th section called Yajñavalkya-bhavaḥkhaṇḍa, Uparibhāga, Chs. 1-8. Sūta expounds Advaita and Śiva's greatness. Edn. Ānandāśrama 25 with Mādhavācārya's gloss.

Sūrya Gītā.—From the Karmakāṇḍa of the Tattvasārāyaṇa by Vasiṣṭha. Included in the Gītāsaṅgraha (No. 9). For a ms. see Adyar I. p. 140b. Sūrya's Upadeśa to Aruṇa, in 5 chs.

Saunhya Gītā.—Ascribed to the Padmapurāṇa. Mysore III.

p. 3.

Smṛti Gītā.—Oppert I. 6543. Is this Śruti Gītā?

Haṁsa Gītā.—No. 11 in the Gītāsaṅgraha; ascribed to the XI Skandha of the Bhāgavata. This is Śls. 15-42, Ch. 13, Sk. XI of the Bhāgavata, Kumbh. edn., where, of course, it is not called 'Gītā', but is called only Haṁsetihāsa.

Haṁsa Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharmā, Ch. 299 Citraśālā; Kumbh. 305. but called here only Haṁsa Sādhyasamvāda.

Included in the Gītāgranthāvalī, ed. by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya.

Haṁsa Gītā.—Viṣṇudharmottara, Venk. edn., Khaṇḍa 3, Chs. 226-7 to 342 pp. 400-463.

Speaker Viṣṇu in the form of Haṁsa. On a variety of topics, Varṇāśramadharmā, Ācāra, Prāyaścitta, Kāmādidoṣanindā, Jñānādiguṇaprasaṁsā, Aṣṭāṅgāyoga, Deva atithi brāhmaṇa gopijā, Iṣṭāpūrta, Dānas, Strīdharmā, Rājadharmā including Vyavahāra etc., Sannyāsa and Viṣṇubhakti.

In ch. 340 dealing with Yatidharmā, Upaniṣadic passages occur. In 342, there is a Viśvarūpadarśana, a Gītā-feature, on having which the sages exclaim in Gītā-words "नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिर्लब्धा" Śl. 22.

For a frag. ms. of this, see Lz. 350, having chs. 323-340.

Hārīta Gītā.—Mahābhārata, Śānti, Mokṣadharmā, Ch. 268 Kumbh. 278 Citraśālā.

On what a Mumukṣu must do to achieve Mokṣa. Sāmya and other ideas well-known from the Gītā are met with here also.

Included in the Gītāgranthāvalī ed. by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya.

The Veṇu Gītā (X. 21.), the Gopiyugala Gītā (X. 35), the Gopikā Gītā, (X. 31) the Bhramara Gītā (X. 47), these sections of the Bhāgavata are really Gītās, though some mss. of these sections style them Gītās. I have left them out of this list of Gītās.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

DHARMAKOSA—VYAVAHARAKANDA—VYAVAHARAMATRKA—VOL. I,
PART I, PUBLISHED BY THE PRAJNA PATHA SHALA MANDAL,
SATARA, AND EDITED BY LAXMAN SHASTRI JOSHI.

The task of collecting the materials bearing on Hindu sociology, Hindu jurisprudence and ethics, from the vast mass of Hindu religious literature is a stupendous one which has been undertaken by the Prajna Patha Shala Mandal at Wai, Satara District. As a first part and sample of the work, the book on ancient judicial procedure, Vyavahāra Mātrkā, has been published, and we have great pleasure in acknowledging with gratitude the receipt of this volume kindly sent by the Editor Mr. Laxman Shastri Joshi. It is, indeed, a very praiseworthy idea to plan and bring out a number of volumes like this. It is no exaggeration to say that this task is a very difficult one and requires great learning, research, discrimination and taste on the part of the persons who are engaged in it. The modern amenities of subject index, word index, contents of chapters and other references are absolutely necessary to the modern student, and the editor has kept in view this important desideratum. The editor has, as we see from the explanatory foreword to the Dharmakośa, included within his purview texts hitherto unpublished and untranslated. The vast mass of literature that has to be manipulated in a scheme like this is so unorganized and huge that one will be justified in entertaining a doubt whether it will be possible to sift and analyse all the material and bring out a series of volumes which will satisfy the scientific taste of the modern reader and be helpful also to him in making ready references amidst the bustle and hurry of modern life.

The cost of publication will be very great, the number of scholars required to work at it will also be large and the time taken will be necessarily long. But, if the task can be accomplished successfully even after a good length of time it will be well worth all the trouble and will be a standing monument to the research and capacity of our scholars. It will constitute a unique service to the cause of the study and dissemination of Hindu culture. The generosity of many Hindu Princes and leading men

will have to be tapped for such a venture. We hope and trust that the Indian public will readily respond to the call of the editor and the publishers and help them in coming out of this venture with success. The topics under each and every heading will have to be arranged with circumspection and in such a manner as they may prove useful to the modern Hindu dealing with the problems of Hindu sociology, jurisprudence, ethics and religion. We can rely on the capacity of the editor to do this successfully. Even at the risk of increasing the magnitude of the task we may suggest that an English translation of the volumes will also be very helpful. We have great pleasure in adding our humble voice to the appeal of the editors for help and monetary assistance.

K. B.

THE MĒLA-RĀGA-MĀLIKA OF MAHA VAIDYANATHA SIVAN,
EDITED BY PANDIT S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, F. T
S., THEOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING HOUSE, ADYAR, 1937. pp.
xxxvi, 86. Rs. 2.

The Rāgamālikā is a familiar musical form in South India, as the composing or the practical exposition of it is rendered facile by the exhaustive system of classification of Rāgas and the detailed specifications of their Lakṣaṇas now extant in Carnatic music. Individual Rāgamālikās have their own characteristics of form and arrangement, and the book under review gives one kind of them. The Mēla Rāgamālikā is a type which does not appear to have been attempted by many composers, the only other instance now coming to one's mind being the "Rāgāṅga Rāgamālikā" of Krishna Kavi, the *Dhātu* for which was furnished by Subbarāma Dīkṣita.

Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar's Mēla Rāgamālikā is said to be based on the "system of Mēlas Kanakāṅgī to Rasikapriyā expounded by Govindācārya in his "Saṅgraha Cūḍāmaṇi" (p. xxxiii). The claim advanced for this latter work, that it is the basis of South Indian music (p. xiii), is perhaps too broadly stated. The scheme of 72 Mēla Kartas is undoubtedly that of the Caturdaṇḍi Prakāśikā (*circa* 1620). Veṅkaṭamakhin for the first time invented this mathematically perfect and completely exhaustive scheme of classification of the Mēla Rāgas into their several cakras with mnemonic particulars for each, bringing within this framework every possible combination of the 12 śrīṭones perceived in one octave of the frets of the

Vīṇā. The special merit of the system lies in its originality at a time when not more than 20 Mēlas were known and classified (cf. Svaramēla Kalānidhi of Rāmāmātya), and its vision of the future possibilities of the other svara-combinations (cf. Caturdaṇḍi Prakāśikā IV, 83, 4). The *Kaṭapayādi* formula is perhaps not peculiar to his system. The "ingenious device" of indicating the different varieties of the same svara by different vowel changes (as Ra, ri, ru etc.) is certainly not Veṅkaṭamakhin's (p. xvi). This latter form of notation is at least as old as the 7th century A. D., and is found in the "Svarāgama" of the 'Royal pupil of Rudrācārya' (Pallava Grantha Inscription at Kuḍumiyāmalai, Inscriptions of the Pudukkottah State, No. 2, Page 2).

Of the Saṅgraha Cūḍāmaṇi, nothing is known of the author except that he has obviously adopted Veṅkaṭamakhin's scheme, only giving new names to each Mēla, for some obscure reasons of his own. Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar's Rāga Mālikā took the Cūḍāmaṇi for the basis, but many earlier composers (and of them principally Muthusvāmi Dīkṣita) do not appear to have been aware of the existence of such an authority, and even several of the Kīrtanas of Tyāgarāja appear in the Cūḍāmaṇi garb only in the books brought out by one or two publishers. The nomenclature adopted for the Mēla Kartas by him requires to be taken along with the modification of the *Kaṭapayādi* formula in the case of names with conjunct consonants noticed on p. xxvi, which is a needless complication of a perfect system. (The numbers assigned to these particular Mēlas on pp. xxvii to xxxi, are printed in disregard of this very modification).

The book under review brings within the space of a handy volume a biographical note on Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar, extracted from the life of the composer by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, an introduction to the 72 Mēla Kartas scheme, and the Rāgamālikā itself. We note some departures from the life sketch by the Mahāmahopādhyāya (e.g. p. viii: Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar is said to have ascribed the Rāga Cakravāka to the Cūḍāmaṇi and not to the Ratnākara). We must confess to a feeling of uneasiness when we read that a Mēla Rāga Mālikā in Marathi by Venkata Rao "was composed in Sanskrit with a new setting by Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar in praise of his patron-deity Praṇatārti-hara" (p. ix), whereas the

Mahāmahopādhyāya has merely stated in his sketch that Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar *set to music* an old "mālikā" which has fallen into desuetude. We cannot but regret that the editor has missed a good opportunity to make clear the exact part of Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar in the composition. We are aware of instances of songs of other composers being ascribed in some publications to Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar, but we have been accustomed to regard the Mēla Rāga Mālikā as certainly and entirely his. This all too unsatisfying statement, however, shakes the foundations of belief, and we are not reassured when we learn that Ramaswami Sivan had a hand in the Ciṭṭai Svāra portions.

On the intrinsic merit of the entire Rāgamālikā, opinions may be divided, but the individual musical beauty of certain Rāgas in the Mālikā cannot be gainsaid. The "Rāga Mālikā" is taken from the Telugu version by Vidvan Sabhesa Aiyar and we would have appreciated certain features of the latter work being reproduced in this also. The Telugu book gives the Sāhitya alone separately and this makes possible a conspectus of the entire work which in this is spread out over 86 pages interspersed with svāra passages. The notation adopted lacks the lucidness of that in the Telugu version. The transliteration undoubtedly enhances the value of the book, at least for those who do not know the Telugu or Nāgarī scripts. The book is well printed and got up, though we must say the price fixed is not likely to serve the object of popularising an important composition.

G. TYAGARAJA SASTRI.

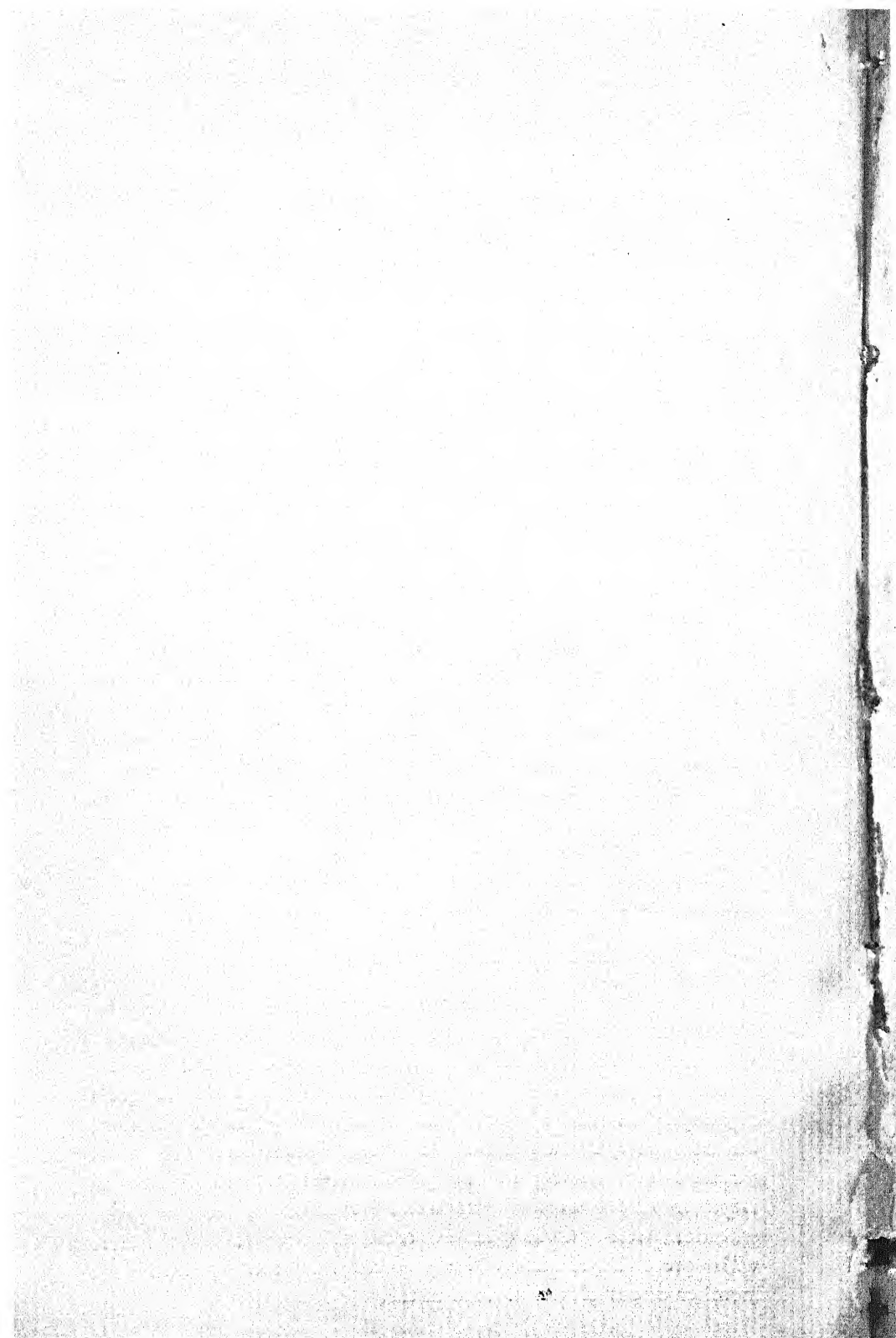
OBITUARY.

THE LATE PROFESSOR SUNDARARAMA AIYAR.

We beg to express our deep sorrow at the passing away at the ripe age of 84 of Professor Sundararama Iyer at Kumbakonam. He belonged to the giant tribe of distinguished educationists of the 19th century like Mr. Porter and Mr. T. Gopala Rao who made Kumbakonam justly famous in the educational world. He was a great Oriental scholar and was till the last days of his life deeply engaged in the study of Hindu religious literature and in the investigation of the problems connected with the history of Hindu religious thought. As a result of his research, he made many notable contributions to the daily papers and to periodicals and was a very valued subscriber to our Journal. From the beginning of our Journal he took great interest in its progress and was a diligent reader of its articles and publications. His essays which appeared from time to time were collected and published by the Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam in two volumes "Dharma and Life" and the "Vedanta and its ethical aspects." He also wrote a book on the "Life of Śrī Rāmānuja." He was an erudite critic and was engaged all through life in fighting for his ideals and principles, ever keen and ready with great skill and power to detect flaws and expose fallacies. The world of South Indian scholarship has sustained a great loss in his death and our Journal, one of the most distinguished patrons and sympathisers.

THE LATE MR. R. KRISHNASWAMI SASTRI, B.A.

We beg to express our sense of profound sorrow at the passing away of Mr. R. Krishnaswami Sastri, one of the distinguished members of our Editorial Committee. He was a great Sanskrit scholar, well versed in Vedanta philosophy, and had a great capacity and taste for research in Oriental subjects. Though he was not widely known to the public, as he chose to lead a rather secluded life, sailing in the placid waters of the Registration Department, the world of scholars knew him as a person of deep erudition, well-cultivated taste and critical acumen. We record with great appreciation the services rendered by him as a member of our Editorial Committee.



PURĀṆA LITERATURE AS KNOWN TO BALLĀLASENA.

BY

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Of the learned kings of Bengal, whose distinct contributions to Sanskrit literature have added to the literary treasure of the province, Ballālasena of the Sena dynasty should be assigned the foremost place. He flourished about the middle of the twelfth century A.D. and is said to have written four well-known digests, viz., *Ācārasāgara*, *Pratiṣṭhāsāgara*, *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhuta-sāgara*. Of these four works, the first two are known only by name from references and quotations, no Mss. of these having yet come to light; a Ms. of the third has been preserved in two parts in the India Office Library, London; and the fourth has been edited by Muralidhara Jhā and published by Prabhākari & Co., Benares, 1905.

Towards the beginning of the *Dānasāgara*¹ we are informed that Ballālasena found an able teacher (guru) in Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, a profound scholar deserving comparison with Bṛhaspati, and learnt from him the essence of the entire Purāṇa and Smṛti literature.² This information supplied by Ballālasena himself of his own erudition in the two branches of Sanskrit literature is

1. Mss. nos. 719-720, India Office Library, London. Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, nos. 1704-5.

2. Cf. *vṛtrārer iva gīṣpatir narapater yasyāniruddho*

guruḥ||

adhigatasakalapurāṇasmṛtisāraḥ śraddhayā guror

asmāt|

.....dānanibandhaṃ vidhatte.....||

Dānasāgara, fol. 1b-2a.

It is often said that the *Dānasāgara* ascribed to Ballālasena was really written by Aniruddhabhaṭṭa and passed in the name of his royal patron (cf., for example, 'viṣṇurahasyasyānārṣatvasya dānasāgare aniruddhabhaṭṭena abhihitatvā ca',—*Smṛtitantra*, II, 44). But from the lines quoted above it would appear that though Aniruddhabhaṭṭa was Ballālasena's teacher, he had little to do with the authorship of the work.

corroborated by the copious quotations from numerous Purāṇic and Smṛti works as well as by the valuable remarks he makes in his *Dānasāgara* on the contents and authenticity of a number of Purāṇas. These remarks, which are the results of a highly critical study of the Purāṇas, reveal the character of these works in his days and are consequently of immense importance for the study of the Purāṇa literature.

Before taking up the topics dealt with in the *Dānasāgara* Ballālasena gives an account of himself and his family, names the works consulted in writing the digest, enumerates the different kinds of gifts, and names those Purāṇas, or parts thereof, which he rejected as unreliable. Among the works used in the *Dānasāgara* the author includes the following Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas:

Brāhma, Vārāha, Āgneya, Bhaviṣya, Mātsya, Vāmana, Vāyavīya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Skānda, Pādma, Kaurma, Ādya (i.e. *Ādi*), *Śāmba, Kālīkā, Nandi, Āditya, Nārasimha, Viṣṇudharmottara* declared by Mārkaṇḍeya (mārkaṇḍeyakṛta), and *Viṣṇudharma*.

Of the Upapurāṇas beginning with the *Ādya* the author says that these works contained directions on gifts and were enumerated in the *Kūrma* and the *Ādipurāṇa*.¹

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1. brāhmaṇaṃ vārāhaṃ āgneyaṃ bhaviṣyaṃ mātsyaṃ eva ca |
vāmanaṃ nārāḍiyaṃ ca mārkaṇḍeyaṃ ca vaiṣṇavaṃ ||
śaivaṃ skāndaṃ ca pādmaṃ ca purāṇaṃ kaurmaṃ eva ca |
purāṇāni tathā kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoḥ |
uktānyupapurāṇāni vyaktadānavidhīni ca ||
ādyaṃ purāṇaṃ śāmbaṃ ca kālīkā[hva]yaṃ eva ca |
nandim ādityasamjñāṃ ca nārasimhaṃ tathaiḥ ca ||
mārkaṇḍeyakṛtaṃ tadva (? tadvad) viṣṇudharmottarā
[hva]yaṃ |
śāstraṃ ca viṣṇudharmākhyam ||
.....ityālocya purāṇopapurāṇasrūtisaṃhitāḥ |
.....

Dānasāgara, 2a-b.

The conjunct consonant preceding 'ya' in 'kālīkā [] yaṃ' in the Ms. is too difficult to be deciphered. Though it may be read both as 'hva' and 'dva', the former reading must be accepted; because, of the *Kūrma* and the *Ādipurāṇa* which are mentioned as containing the names of Upapurāṇas, the former (Vaṅga. ed.)

In the *Adbhutasāgara* also the author gives a similar list of quoted authorities including the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, *Skandapurāṇa*, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, *Ādyapurāṇa*, *Agnipurāṇa*, *Padmapurāṇa*, *Matsyapurāṇa* and *Viṣṇudharmottara*.¹ But an examination of the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara* shows that both these works have verses from such Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas as have not been mentioned in the lists. Thus, the *Dānasāgara* draws upon a *Līṅgapurāṇa*, and the *Adbhutasāgara* upon the *Devī*, *Viṣṇu*, *Nandī*, *Vāyu*, *Āditya*, *Līṅga* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. The exclusion of the names of these Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas from the lists may be due either to the inadvertence of the author or to the insertion of verses of these works by people other than the author. Though such incomplete lists are to be found in other Sanskrit works also, a consideration of Ballālasena's critical acumen and of the fact that Lakṣmaṇasena completed this work left unfinished by its author², tempts us to suppose that most probably it was Lakṣmaṇasena who revised and improved with further addition of materials not only the *Adbhutasāgara* but also the other works of his father. So, be it Ballālasena himself or his son who may have put the verses of the above-mentioned Purāṇic works into the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara*, the insertion was made not later than the middle of the 12th century.

gives a list of these works in *Pūrvabhāga*, Chap. I, verses 17-20 and reads 'kālikāhvayaṃ'. As we have not been able to find within our reach a printed copy or a Ms. of the *Ādipurāṇa*, a work quite different from the later *Ādi* published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, we are quite ignorant of its reading. The reading 'kālikāhvayaṃ', however, is further supported by the word 'viṣṇudharmottarā [hva] yaṃ' in which the conjunct consonant preceding 'ya' and written in exactly the same way as that before 'ya' in 'kālikā [] yaṃ' must be read as 'hva' and not as 'dva'. Eggeling also accepts the reading 'kālikāhvayaṃ' in his *India Office Catalogue*, Part III, p. 543.

1. See *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 2-3.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 4—

granthe' sminn asamāpta eva tanaye sāmrajyalakṣmīm
mudā.....asthāpayat|
....gaṅgāyāṃ viracayya nirjarapurāṃ bhāryānuyāto
gataḥ||
śrīmallakṣmaṇasenabhūpatir atiślāghyo yadudyogato
niṣpanno'adbhutasāgaraḥ kṛtir asau vallālabhūmibhujah||

Interesting information about the Purāṇas is supplied by Ballālasena when he refers to the contents of a few Purāṇic works by way of explaining why he rejected them partly or wholly. He says that though the *Ādipurāṇa* was well-known for its treatment of gifts divided according to the division of the year, it was slightly touched upon in the *Dānasāgara*, because its contents were already fully utilised in the *Ācārasāgara*; the *Bhāgavata*, the *Brahmaṇḍa* and the *Nāradyapurāṇa* did not contain any chapter on gifts and were consequently set aside; the *Līṅgapurāṇa*, whose volume was expanded by the chapters on great gifts (mahādāna) treated of in the *Matsyapurāṇa* and which was thus no better than a digest on gifts, was not drawn upon (na nibaddham), because the substance of its contents was already obtained from other Purāṇas; the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* was utilised upto the chapters dealing with saptamī-(kalpa), while those on the aṣṭamī-and navamī-(kalpa) were rejected on account of their imbibing Tāntric influence; the *Viṣṇurahasya* and the *Śivarahasya* which were famous among the people, were mere compilations and were consequently not utilised; and though the *Bhaviṣyottara* was famous for its customary laws (or was popularly followed) and did not contradict good customs, it was avoided in the *Dānasāgara* for want of sufficient evidence to prove its authenticity.¹ It is to be noted that Ballālasena says nothing of

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1. śrutānyādipurāṇe tu dānānyabdavibhāgataḥ |
 ācārasāgaroktatvānna kīrtiyante' tra kṛtsnaśaḥ |
 bhāgavataṃ ca purāṇaṃ brahmaṇḍaṃ caiva nāradyaṃ ca |
 dānavidhiśūnyaṃ etat trayam iha na nibandha (?ddha) m
 avadhārya |
 brhad api līṅgapurāṇaṃ matsyapurāṇoditair mahādānair |
 avadhā (dhī ?) rya labdhasāradānanibandhetaranibandhaṃ |
 saptamyavadhi purāṇaṃ bhaviṣyaṃ api saṃgrhītaṃ
 atiyatnāt |
 tyaktvāṣṭamīnavamyoh ('myau) kanyau ('lau)
 pāṇḍibhir grastau (?oste) |
 loke prasiddham etad viṣṇurahasyaṃ ca śivarahasyaṃ ca |
 dvayaṃ iha na pariḡhītaṃ saṃgraharūpatvaṃ avadhārya |
 bhaviṣyottaraṃ ācāraprasiddham avirodhi ca |
 prāmānyaṃ jñāpakādrṣṭer granthād asmāt pṛthak kṛtaṃ |
 Dānasāgara, fol. 3b.

Eggeling would like to read the word 'labdhasāra etc.' in line 6 as 'labdhasāraṃ dana°'—See *India Office Catalogue*, Part III,

the *Brahmavaivarta* and the (to him) genuine *Garuḍapurāṇa*, though he does not draw upon them in his *Dānasāgara* or *Adbhutasāgara*.

Next Ballālasena names a set of Purāṇas rejected by him as spurious, viz., *Tārṅṣya* (i.e., *Gāruḍa*), *Brāhma*, *Āgneya*, *Vaiṣṇava* consisting of 23,000 ślokas, and *Liṅga* of 6,000 ślokas; and in connection with their contents he says that these works, dealing with initiation, consecration, ways of salvation for the Tāntriks, testing of gems, fictitious genealogies, lexicography, grammar etc. and containing irrelevant and contradictory statements, were used as means of deception by Mīnaketas and others who were hypocrites, heretics and pseudo-ascetics¹. By his remark that due to its wide circulation the *Skandapurāṇa* existed in more parts than one, and that three of its parts dealt with the accounts (kathā) of Pauṇḍra, Revā, and Avanti,² Ballālasena seems to include those three parts among the spurious Purāṇas.

p. 544. The last line should be read as 'prāmānya-jñāpakā°' Eggeling reads it as 'prāmānyam jñāpakādṛṣṭair granthād° etc.'

1. tārṅṣyaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ brāhmam āgneyam eva ca |
trayaviṃśatisāhasraṃ purāṇam api vaiṣṇavaṃ |
ṣaṭsahasramitaṃ liṅgaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ tathā |
dikṣāpratiṣṭhāpāṣaṇḍamuktiratnaparīkṣaṇaiḥ |
mr̥ṣā vaṃśānucaritaiḥ kośavyākaraṇādibhiḥ |
asaṅgatakathābandhapaṇasparavirodhataḥ |
tanmīnaketanādināṃ bhaṇḍapāṣaṇḍalingināṃ |
lokavañcanam ālokyā sarvaṃ evāvarī (?dhī)ritam |

Dānasāgara, fol. 3b-4a.

In line 6 Eggeling reads °virodhataḥ.—*India Office Catalogue*, part III, p. 544.

It is to be noted that though Ballālasena expressly says here that he rejected the '*Tārṅṣya*,' '*Brāhma*,' '*Āgneya*,' '*Vaiṣṇava*' and '*Liṅga*' as spurious and deceptive, he draws considerably upon a *Brahma*, an *Agni* and a *Viṣṇupurāṇa* in his *Dānasāgara* and includes them in the list of Purāṇas used in writing the digest. So, it is sure that he knew another set of Purāṇas which he considered genuine. The word 'apara' used in the above verses is important in this connection.

2. pracaradrūpataḥ skandapurāṇaikāṃśato'dhikam |
yatkaṇḍatritayam paṇḍrarevāvantikathāśrayam ||

Dānasāgara, fol. 3b.

Regarding the *Devīpurāṇa* Ballālasena says that due to its treatment of sinful acts it was excluded from the lists of *Purāṇas* and *Upapurāṇas* and that it was rejected by him because of its Tāntric character¹.

We have noted above Ballālasena's remarks on the character and contents of the different *Purāṇas*. We shall now examine these remarks and the *Purāṇa* quotations made in the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara* in order to understand the nature and contents of the different *Purāṇas* known to Ballālasena as well as to see whether any of those *Purāṇas* have come down to us. Let us take up the *Mahāpurāṇas* here:—

(1) *Agnīpurāṇa* or *Āgneya*.—Ballālasena quotes in his *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara* a large number of verses from an *Agnīpurāṇa*, but, except only a few scattered lines in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 96-97b, none of these quoted verses is found in the printed *Agni*. So, the *Agnīpurāṇa* drawn upon by Ballālasena was different from our present *Agni*.

An examination of the quoted verses shows that the earlier *Agni* (drawn upon by Ballālasena) contained a large number of chapters on the methods and merits of making different kinds of gifts² and on *adbhuta-śānti*; that the more important gifts were dealt with elaborately in distinctly separate sections, short or long; and that in a good number of chapters the interlocutors were *Vaśiṣṭha* and king *Aṃbariṣa*. Regarding the stories occurring in the earlier *Agni*, the *Adbhutasāgara* supplies us with valuable information not only by quoting verses but also by referring to the topics or stories dealt with in the chapters from which these verses were taken. From these quotations and references we understand that the *Purāṇa* contained a long story

1. tattatpurāṇopapurāṇasamkhyā
vahiṣkṛtam kalmaṣakarmayogāt|
pāṣaṇḍaśāstrānumatam nirūpya
devīpurāṇam na nibandha (?ddha)matra|

Dānasāgara, fol. 4a.

2. Viz., guḍadhenudāna, tiladhenudāna, ghṛtadhenudāna, alaṅkṛtagavidāna, kapilagavidāna, ubhayatomukhīdāna, gosahasradāna, alaṅkṛtavṛṣadāna, analaṅkṛtavṛṣadāna, gavāhnikadāna, annadāna, vastradāna, hemadāna, rūpyadāna, maṇidāna, matha-pratiśrayadāna, kāṣṭhadāna, dāsīdāna, tiladāna, kṛṣṇājīnadāna, upānaddāna, aśvadāna, mahiṣīdāna, jaladhenudāna.

of the birth of Vāmana (vāmanotpatti) and the killing of Hiraṇyakaśipu (hiraṇyakaśipuvadha) dealt most probably in more chapters than one.¹ It also contained the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, because there is mention of Rāvaṇa's fight with Indra and the latter's defeat, and of Trijaṭā's detailed dream about the fate of Rāvaṇa and his capital.² The quoted verses further show that the chapter or chapters on Hiraṇyakaśipuvadha had a large number of verses, if not all, in common with *Matsyapurāṇa* (Vaṅga. ed.) 161-13, *Padmapurāṇa* (Śrṣṭi-khaṇḍa; Ānandāśrama ed.) 42 and *Harivaṃśa* (Vaṅga. ed.) III, 41-47³ and that the section on Trijaṭā-svapna had many verses in common with the *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁴

The present spurious *Agni*, though greatly different from the earlier one, is not totally an independent work. From a comparison between the present *Agni* and the verses quoted in the Nibandhas from the earlier *Agni* it becomes evident that the former is the result of a destructive recast to which the latter was subjected. How in this recast the form of the older Purāṇa was changed is best exemplified by a comparison between a long passage, or rather an entire chapter, quoted from the '*Agnipurāṇa*' in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 96a-97b and chapter 210 of the present *Agni* (Vaṅga. ed.). In the quoted passage Vāsiṣṭha is found to speak to the king (Aṃbarīṣa) on the gift of a cow made of raw sugar (guḍa-dhenudāna), but in the said chapter of the present *Agni*, though all the marks proving the existence of the interlocution between Vāsiṣṭha and king Aṃbarīṣa have been eliminated many verses have been retained, e. g. *Agni* 210 verses 13b-17a, 19-21, 22b, 23 and 25-29a tally with some of the verses quoted in the *Dānasāgara* (fol. 96a-97b). In these common lines even, the readings differ disappointingly. Sometimes the subject-matter of a good number of stanzas in the *Dānasāgara* is found pressed into a much lesser number of stanzas in the printed edition.

Though Ballālasena drew upon an earlier *Agni*, he was quite familiar with the present one, because (i) the contents of

1. See *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 19, 50, 320, 708 etc.

2. *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 500, 501 etc.

3. See *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 50-51 (harivaṃśa-matsyapurāṇa-padmapurāṇeṣu hiraṇyakaśipuvadhanimittam — somasya etc.; āgneyapurāṇe ca—somasya etc.) ; also pp. 320, 378, 412 etc.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 512, 513 etc.

the spurious *Agni* given in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 4a¹ tally fully with those of the present one, (ii) the present *Agni* has Tāntric (pāṣaṇḍa) elements, and (iii) the extant *Agni* also is a spurious work².

(2) *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* or *Bhāgavata*.—The present *Bhāgavata* was known to Ballālasena, because (i) it does not contain any chapter on gifts (cf. *dānavidhiśūnyam*—*Dānasāgara* fol. 3b), (ii) the verses quoted from the '*Bhāgavata*' in the *Adbhūtasāgara* are all, with the exception of only four lines, found in our present *Bhāgavata* (Vaṅga. ed., I, 14 and III, 15), and (iii) the stories and episodes (*viz.*, *vāsudevotkrānti*, *hiraṇyakaśipūtpatti*, *hiraṇyākṣotpatti*, *kaṁsārīṣṭadarśana*, *rāvaṇotpatti*, *vṛṣṇivarmśakṣaya* and the war among the *Vṛṣṇis*) referred to in connection with the quoted verses occur in *Bhāg.* I, 14 and III, 13-19. It is however not meant that the *Bhāgavata* of Ballāla's time has come down to us totally unaffected by any changes or interpolations. On the other hand, it is highly probable that occasional changes and interpolations were made even after the 12th century A.D.

(3) *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*.—The fact that the verses on gifts quoted from a '*Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*' in the *Dānasāgara* are, with a very few exceptions, found in our present *Bhaviṣya* (Veṅkaṭ. ed.) I (Brāhma Parvan), chaps. 64, 93, 103, 118 and 181 and the information that the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* dealt, among other things, with the different tithi-kalpas and that the chapters on the *aṣṭamī*- and *navamī*-kalpa were influenced by Tāntricism, show that many of the chapters of Ballālasena's *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* have been retained in our present work which seems to have preserved in its Brāhma-parvan the major portion of the earlier *Bhaviṣya* of five Parvans.³ In his *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.* ABB, Vol. V (no. 3738), Haraprasad Shastri describes a complete Ms. of a *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* which consists of five Parvans, *viz.*, Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Tvāṣṭra and Pratisarga, deals with the different tithi-kalpas, the stories of Rudra and Sūrya, and so forth, and is really *āḍityacaritaprāya*. Shastri's description of the Ms. further

1. See foot-note 1 on p. 133.

2. See my essay on the *Agnipurāṇa* in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XII, pp. 683f.

3. For an analysis of the printed *Bhaviṣya* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition) see my essay in *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 223f.

shows that (i) the Brāhma-parvan ends with the pratipat-kalpa, the interlocutors being Śātānika and Sumantu; (ii) the Viṣṇu-parvan deals with the remaining tithi-kalpas, has Śātānika and Sumantu (?) as interlocutors, and consists of 31 chapters; (iii) the Rudra-parvan has Sumantu and Śātānika as interlocutors, deals with the origin of Rudra, Datta and others, and consists of 3 chapters; (iv) the Tvaṣṭṛ-parvan has Śātānika as one of the interlocutors, contains a sūrya-śuka-saṁvāda, and deals with the story of the marriage between Sūrya and Saṁjñā (daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ), Śuka's going to the solar region (sūrya-maṇḍala), etc.; and (v) the Pratisarga-parvan begins with the Sun as an interlocutor, contains a sūrya-śuka-saṁvāda, and ends with the return of Śuka from the solar region. Much of the above contents is found in the Brāhma-parvan of the printed *Bhaviṣya*.

(4) *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*.—The present *Brahmāṇḍa* (Venkaṭ. ed.) which is a very early work and which, in accordance with the information contained in *Dānasāgara*. fol. 3b, does not contain any chapter on gifts, was certainly known to Ballālasena in some form or other. The fact that of the 23 lines on kāyariṣṭādbhuta quoted in the *Adbhutasāgara* from the '*Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*' not a single is found in the present *Brahmāṇḍa*, while as many as 17 are found in *Vāyu* 19, can be explained by saying that the texts of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* being originally identical, the Ms. of the latter used by Ballālasena contained the chapter on kāyariṣṭādbhuta which has been lost from our printed *Brahmāṇḍa*.

(5) *Brahmapurāṇa* or *Brāhma*.—Not a single of the numerous verses quoted in the *Dānasāgara* is found in the present apocryphal *Brahma* which is called an *Urapurāṇa* by Narasiṁha Vājapeyin of Orissa.¹ So, it is sure that Ballālasena's genuine *Brahmapurāṇa* was quite different from the extant one. Ballālasena knew a spurious *Brahma* also, but as the contents of the spurious *Purāṇas*, stated generally in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 4a, do not agree even partially with those of our extant *Brahma*, it is highly probable that Ballāla's spurious *Brahma* also was a different work.

(6) *Kūrmapurāṇa* or *Kaurma*.—The present *Kūrmapurāṇa* is generally the same as that drawn upon by Ballālasena

1. See my essay on the *Brahmapurāṇa* in *Indian Culture*, II, pp. 235f.

in his *Dānasāgara*, because (i) the great majority of the verses quoted by him from the '*Kūrmapurāṇa*' or '*Kaurma*' is found in *Kūrma* (Vaṅga. ed.) II, chaps. 18, 26 and 44 and (ii) Ballāla refers to the list of Upapurāṇas in *Kūrma* I, 1, 17, 20, which is, therefore, of much earlier date.

(7) *Liṅgapurāṇa* or *Laiṅga*.—It has already been pointed out that the verses from the *Liṅgapurāṇa* in the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara* can rightly be suspected to have been added by Lakṣmaṇasena for the following reasons: (i) the *Liṅga* is not mentioned in the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas utilised in the above-mentioned Nibandhas, and (ii) in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b, there are clear indications that the *Liṅga* was not drawn upon in the *Dānasāgara*.

The present *Liṅga*,¹ however, is not a late work. It was known in Ballālasena's time; because (i) the verses quoted in the *Dānasāgara* from a '*Liṅgapurāṇa*' or '*Laiṅga*' are all found in our present *Liṅga* I, 77 (on the consecration of a *Liṅga*) and II, 28 (on mahādāna), and those quoted in the *Adbhutasāgara* are, with only a few exceptions, found in *Liṅga* I, 91 and 10.; and (ii) the line 'bṛhad api liṅgapurāṇam matsyapurāṇoditair mahādānaiḥ' (*Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b) points to the present *Liṅga* which deals, in chaps. 28-44 of its Uttarārdha, with the great gifts treated of in *Matsya* 274-289.

The present *Liṅga* seems to have undergone changes after Ballālasena's time. There are occasional differences in readings between the quoted verses and their parallels in the printed edition; and the verse in *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 513 with the words '*liṅgapurāṇe tripuravadhanimittakathane mayavākyaṃ*' is not found in the present *Liṅga*, though it contains the story of Tri-pura-vadha.

Besides the present *Liṅga*, which itself is an apocryphal work,² Ballālasena knew another spurious *Liṅga* consisting of 6,000 ślokas and dealing with initiation, consecration etc.³ That more *Liṅgapurāṇas* than one came into existence at a fairly early date is indicated by our present *Liṅga* itself which says '*laiṅgam*

1. Edited by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta.

2. My essay on the *Liṅgapurāṇa* will shortly be published in *Indian Culture*, Calcutta.

3. See foot-note 1 on p. 133.

ekādaśavidham prabhinnam dvāpare yuge' (*Liṅga* I, 39, 64a=*Skanda* VII, i, 2, 101b).

(8) *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*.—This Purāṇa is drawn upon both in the *Dānāsāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara*, and the quoted verses are all, with the exception of only ten (nine on mānuṣād-bhuta in *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 485 and one on p. 509), found in the extant *Mārkaṇḍeya*¹ which, therefore, is generally the same as that used by Ballālasena.

(9) *Matsyapurāṇa* or *Mātsya*.—Both in his *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara* Ballāla draws profusely upon the *Matsyapurāṇa* by referring, in many cases, to the relevant topics and episodes, and these quoted verses are, with a very few exceptions, found in our present *Matsya*, chapters 22, 53, 67, 82-92, 115, 134, 153, 163, 172, 205-7, 228-238, 240-243, 274-289 and 290 which deal with the respective topics or episodes referred to. In my analysis of the *Matsyapurāṇa* I have already dealt with the dates of most of these chapters.² Those remaining (*viz.*, chaps. 134, 153, 163 and 172) are utilised below to determine the dates of a few more groups of chapters.

The story of the origin and destruction of Tripura, a city built by the demon architect Maya, is dealt with in *Matsya* 129-140. These chapters, except the interpolated portions if any, are earlier than the beginning of the 12th century A. D., for Ballālasena quotes a line from chap. 134 in connection with 'the burning of Tripura'. Chaps. 146-160 deal with the birth of the demon Tāraka and his death at the hand of Kārttikeya. Of these, only chaps. 146-148 (especially except verses 1-40 of chap. 146) and chaps. 153-160 (especially except verses 1-221 and 228b to the end of chap. 153, and verses 447-485 of chap. 154) have been borrowed by the *Padmapurāṇa* (*Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa*). So, the intervening chaps. 149-152, on the description of a war between the gods and demons, seem to be interpolations. As Ballālasena quotes in his *Adbhutasāgara* a line from chap. 153 by mentioning that it is taken from the episode of the war between the gods and the demons,³ we can be sure that chaps. 146-148 and 153-160

1. For an analysis of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, see *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XI, pp. 108f.

2. See *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVII, pp. 1f.

3. Cf. *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 478- matsyapurāṇe devāsura-yud-dhanimittam,

(especially except the verses noted above) are earlier than 1100 A.D. Again, chaps. 39-41 of the *Padmapurāṇa* (Śrṣṭi-khaṇḍa), which tally considerably with chaps. 146-148 and 153-160 are to be dated between 800 and 950 A.D. and most probably in the latter half of the eighth century A.D.¹ So, *Matsya* 146-148 and 153-160 (especially except the verses noted above) are to be dated earlier than 200 A.D.

Chaps. 161-163 deal with the killing of Hiranyakaśipu by the Man-lion, and chap. 172, which belongs to the group consisting of the closely interrelated chaps. 169-179, with the tārakā-maya-yuddha between the gods on the one side and the demons Yakṣas, Serpents, Rākṣasas etc. on the other. As Ballālasena quotes in his *Dānasāgara* a good number of verses from chaps. 163 and 172 by expressly mentioning the stories² and as *Padmapurāṇa* (Śrṣṭi-khaṇḍa) chaps. 42, 37-38 and 43 (verses 6b-9a and 77-85a), which are borrowed from *Matsya* 161-163, 169-178 and 174 (verses 1-13a) respectively, are to be dated between 800 and 950 A.D. and most probably in the latter half of the eighth century A.D.,³ the above-mentioned chapters (161-163, 169-178 and verses 1-13a of chap. 179) of the *Matsyapurāṇa* must be placed earlier than 800 A.D.

A comparison between the present *Matsya* and the quoted verses shows that this Purāṇa has not suffered much through losses, though interpolations continued to be made even after the 12th century A.D.

(10) *Nāradyapurāṇa* or *Nāradya*.—By his statement that he did not draw upon the *Nāradyapurāṇa* because it did not contain any chapter on gift (cf. *Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b) Ballālasena means most probably the present *Nāradya* in which also there is no chapter on gift. As neither the *Dānasāgara* nor the *Adbhutasāgara* has even a single line from the *Nāradya*, it is not possible to say anything definitely.

(11) *Padmapurāṇa* or *Pādma*.—This Purāṇa is drawn upon both in the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara*; and the verses quoted in the former are all found in Śrṣṭi-khaṇḍa, chaps.

1. See my essay on the *Padmapurāṇa* in *Indian Culture*, IV, pp. 73f.

2. See *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 20, 23, 50 etc.; and pp. 319, 358 and 701.

3. See my essay on the *Padmapurāṇa*.

10, 15 and 31, and those quoted in the latter are all found in chaps. 37 and 43 of the same Khaṇḍa. In connection with the quotations the following stories of the *Padmapurāṇa* have been mentioned in the *Adbhutasāgara*:

- (i) Hiranyakaśipu-vadha—(*Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 20, 23 etc.)
- (ii) Tārakāmaya-yuddha—(„ pp. 319, 332, 358 etc.)
- (iii) Deva-parājaya—(*Adbhutasāgara*, p. 409). These stories occur in the *Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa*.

(12) *Śivapurāṇa* or *Saiva*.—Of the 31 lines (except the repeated ones) quoted in the *Dānasāgara* from a '*Śivapurāṇa*', 27 are found in the *Sanātkumāra-saṁhitā* of the extant *Śiva* (Vaṅgavāsī edition). So, our present *Śiva* has portions which can rightly claim to be fairly old.¹

(13) *Skandapurāṇa* or *Skānda*.—Ballālasena quotes numerous verses from a '*Skāndapurāṇa*' or '*Skānda*' in his *Nibandhas*, but none of them is found in the printed *Skanda* (Vaṅga. ed.).²

(14) *Tārکشya* (i.e. *Gāruḍa*) *Purāṇa*.—Ballālasena includes it among the spurious *Purāṇas*. Though he does not draw upon it in his *Nibandhas*, his enumeration of the contents of the spurious *Purāṇas* shows definitely that this spurious *Tārکشya* is the same as the present *Garuḍa* which also deals with *dikṣā*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *ratnaparīkṣā*, *mṛṣā-varṇśānucarita*, *vyākaraṇa* etc.

(15) *Vāmanapurāṇa*.—This *Purāṇa* is drawn upon in the *Dānasāgara*, and all the quoted verses, except two, are found in chap. 96 of our present *Vāmana* (Vaṅga. ed.), which, therefore, has preserved much of its older materials.

(16) *Varāhapurāṇa* or *Vārāha*.—This *Purāṇa* is drawn upon in the *Dānasāgara*, and all the quoted verses are found in chaps. 205-207 of the present *Varāha* (Vaṅga. ed.) which, therefore, was known to Ballālasena in some form or other.

(17) *Vāyupurāṇa* or *Vāyavīya*.—This is a very ancient work, and most of the verses quoted by Ballālasena in his *Nibandhas* from a '*Vāyupurāṇa*' or '*Vāyavīya*' are found in chaps. 19 and 80 of the present *Vāyu* (Ānandāśrama edition).³

(18) *Viṣṇupurāṇa* or *Vaiṣṇava*.—The *Dānasāgara* and ✓ the *Adbhutasāgara* have 6 and 33 lines respectively from a

1-3. The *Śiva*, the *Skanda* and the *Vāyupurāṇa* will be analysed on other occasions.

'*Viṣṇupurāṇa*'. Of these, only two, quoted in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 21a, are found in our present *Viṣṇu* (Vaṅga. ed., III, 12, 20.). As the quoted verses in the *Adbhutasāgara* are concerned with different adbhutas (*viz.*, earth-quake, dream, and delivery), it is sure that Ballālasena used a manuscript copy of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* which contained chapters on these topics.

The absence of chapters on adbhutas in our present *Viṣṇu* does not, however, prove that Ballālasena's *Viṣṇupurāṇa* was a totally different work. On the other hand, it is highly probable that Ballāla knew the extant *Viṣṇu* with a few chapters on adbhutas borrowed from the *Matsyapurāṇa* or the *Viṣṇudharmottara* or both.

Ballāla mentions a spurious *Viṣṇu* of 23,000 ślokas. It was most probably the great fame and popularity of the genuine *Viṣṇupurāṇa* that encouraged the composition of such a spurious work at a time earlier than the beginning of the 12th century A.D. As no Ms. of this spurious work has yet been found, it seems to have been lost.

The Upapurāṇas, which require very close and careful study, will be examined on other occasions.

APPENDIX.

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|--|---|-------------|
| I. Verses quoted from the | p. 712 .. | III, 17, 4. |
| <i>Bhāgavata</i> ' in | II. For the Verses quoted in | |
| <i>Adbhutasāgara</i> , | the <i>Dānasāgara</i> from the | |
| p. 354 .. <i>Bhāgavata</i> I, 14, 16a. | ' <i>Bhaviṣyapurāṇa</i> ' and traced | |
| p. 355 .. " III, 17, 5. | in the Venkat. ed. of the | |
| p. 378 .. " I, 14, 16b. | <i>Bhaviṣya</i> see <i>Indian Cul-</i> | |
| p. 410 .. " III, 17, 7; | <i>ture</i> , III, p. 228. | |
| & I, 14, 18a. | III. Verses quoted from the | |
| p. 426 .. " I, 14, 20a. | ' <i>Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa</i> ' in | |
| p. 481 .. " I, 14, 20b-c. | <i>Adbhutasāgara</i> , | |
| p. 625 .. " I, 14, 13b. | p. 524 .. <i>Vāyu</i> 19, 22. | |
| p. 642 .. " I, 14, 19b. | p. 527 .. " 19, 31. | |
| p. 643 .. " III, 17, 13a. | p. 531 .. " 19, 21b. | |
| p. 645 .. " I, 14, 19b. | p. 537 .. " 19, 23b and 23. | |
| p. 653 .. " III, 17, 11b; | p. 538 .. " 19, 24b. | |
| III, 17, 10. | p. 539 .. " 19, 24. | |
| p. 654 .. " I, 14, 12b- | p. 542 .. " 19, 30. | |
| 13a. | p. 544 .. " 19, 5. | |
| p. 658 .. " III, 17, 9; | p. 545 — " 19, 12. | |
| I, 14, 12a. | IV. Verses quoted from the | |
| p. 709 .. " III, 17, 13. | ' <i>Kūrmapurāṇa</i> ' or ' <i>Kaurma</i> ' | |
| p. 710 .. " I, 14, 15, | in | |
| and 17b. | <i>Dānasāgara</i> , | |

- fol. 9b — *Kūrma* II, 26, 57.
 fol. 21a II, 18, 53.
 fol. 25a II, 18, 81-82
 fol. 137a II, 26, 13.
 fol. 149b II, 26, 18.
 fol. 154a II, 26, 17.
 fol. 195a II, 44, 123
 and 125-127.
 fol. 242b-243a II, 26,
 30-31.
 fol. 246a II, 26, 25-26
 fol. 252b-253a— .. II, 26, 23
 and 19-21.
 fol. 285a II, 26, 35.
 V. Verses quoted from the
 'Līṅgapurāṇa' or 'Laiṅga'
 in
 (a) *Dānasāgara*,
 fol. 15a-b .. *Linga* I, 77, 33b-
 35, and 52b-54a.
 fol. 28a II, 28, 34b.
 (b) *Adbhutasāgara*,
 p. 507 .. *Linga* I, 91, 19 and
 27.
 p. 508 I, 91, 15, 29
 and 16.
 p. 509 I, 91, 17b, 35,
 31 and 34.
 p. 524 I, 91, 24.
 p. 525 — cf. .. I, 91, 5.
 p. 527 I, 91, 33.
 p. 536 I, 9, 23b.
 p. 533 I, 91, 13b.
 p. 537 I, 91, 25b and
 25.
 p. 538 I, 91, 26b.
 p. 539 I, 91, 26.
 p. 541 I, 91, 13a.
 The line 'pi-
 vataśca' and
 the verse
 'sadyaḥ snā-
 nānuliptyasya'
 are not found.
 p. 542 I, 91, 32.
 p. 544 I, 91, 7.
 p. 545 I, 91, 14.
 p. 546 cf. .. I, 91, 6.
 p. 548 cf. .. I, 91, 12.
 p. 554 cf. .. I, 91, 11.
 p. 556 I, 91, 21.
 p. 712 I, 100, 9-10.
 VI. Verses quoted from the
 'Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa' in.
 (a) *Dānasāgara*,
 fol. 29b — *Mārkaṇḍeya* p. 16,
 36b-37a.
 fol. 163b.. .. 10, 57a.
 fol. 189b.. .. 10, 57a.
 (b) *Adbhutasāgara*,
 pp. 253-4—*Mārkaṇḍeya* p. 58,
 55.
 pp. 254-5.. .. 58, 6-9.
 p. 256 58, 11-13a.
 p. 257 58, 16-19a.
 p. 259 58, 20b-28.
 p. 261 58, 30-33a.
 p. 262 58, 34-36a and
 37.
 p. 263 58, 38b-40a,
 36b, 37a and
 40b.
 pp. 264-5 58, 40b-47.
 pp. 266 7 58, 48b-53a.
 pp. 267-8 58, 79b-80, 56,
 75b-79a, 65-
 67, and 69-
 73a.
 p. 506 43, 4 and 20.
 p. 507 43, 19 and 15.
 p. 508 43, 27 and 16.
 p. 509 43, 17, 18a
 (the line
 'dṛṣṭvā tu' is
 not found),
 29 and 31.
 p. 518 43, 35-37.
 p. 523 43, 10.
 p. 524 43, 24.
 p. 525 43, 5.
 p. 527 43, 32.
 p. 528 43, 33.
 p. 530 43, 28.
 p. 531 43, 23a.
 p. 535 43, 8.
 p. 539 43, 26.
 p. 541 43, 22 (cf.
 also 43, 13a.)
 p. 542 43, 30.
 p. 544 43, 7.
 p. 545 43, 14.
 p. 546 43, 6.
 p. 548 43, 12.
 p. 553 43, 9b and 11.
 p. 556 43, 9.
 p. 557 43, 21.

VII. Verses quoted from the
'*Matsyapurāṇa*' or '*Mātsya*'
in.

(a) *Adbhutasāgara*,

p. 5 .. *Matsya* 229, 5.

p. 6 .. " 229, 6-9a and
9b-10a. The
line 'divyam
tivrāphalam'
is not found.

p. 9 .. " 228, 2-3a; 229,
12b-13a.

p. 20—cf. .. 163, 37a.

p. 23 .. " 163, 38a.

p. 43 .. " 163, 35.

p. 50 .. " 163, 38b-39a.

pp. 87-88 .. " 67, 2-6.

p. 141 .. " 163, 39b.

p. 275 .. " 231, 5.

p. 290 .. " 163, 37b.

p. 296—cf. .. chap. 229.

p. 302 .. " 233, 7 and 8b.

p. 318 .. " 233, 6; 163. 50.

p. 319 .. " 172, 19; 231.4
(second pāda
differs); 172,
18b.

p. 320 .. " 238, 2; 163, 48b.

p. 336 .. *Matsya* 163, 42b.

p. 337 .. " 163, 42a.

p. 353 .. " 243, 23a and
22.

p. 356 .. " 228, 11; 236,
5.

p. 358 .. " 172, 13-14a.

p. 375 .. " 233, 1a.

p. 376 .. " 233, 1b and
2a.

p. 378 .. " 233, 3a; 163,
43a.

p. 379 .. " 233, 3b-4a.

p. 380—cf. .. 233, 4b.

p. 381 .. " 233, 9.

p. 386 .. " 228, 21a.

p. 388 .. " 228, 21-22a.

p. 391 .. " 228, 22b-23.

p. 398 .. " 228, 24-25.

p. 401 .. " 228, 26-27.

pp. 408-409 .. " 240, 8b-9a.

p. 410 .. " 234, 1-3a. The
line 'aśoṣyā
vā' is not
found.

p. 412 .. " 234, 3b-5a.

p. 413 .. " 228, 12b; 234,
5b-7.

p. 416 .. " 231, 1.

p. 417 .. " 231, 2b-3.

p. 418 .. " 231, 6b and 8a.

p. 419 .. " 231, 9b-11.

p. 425 .. " 230, 1-5a.

p. 426 .. " 163, 45b-46.

p. 427—cf. .. 230, 6a.

p. 428 .. " 230, 8a and 7a.

p. 429 .. " 230, 6b and 7b.

p. 430 .. " 230, 5b.

pp. 431-2 .. " 230, 9b-12. The
line 'tallīṅ-
ena' is not
found.

p. 441 .. *Matsya* 232, 5b-6a
and 11a.

p. 442 .. " 232, 10a, 9b
and 9a.

p. 443 .. " 163, 44; 232,
6b.

p. 444 .. " 232, 7b-8.

p. 445 .. " 232, 11b-12a.

p. 446 .. " 163, 49.

p. 447 .. " 232, 12b-14.

p. 458 .. " 238, 1.

p. 459 .. " 238, 15a-b
and 16. The
verse 'sva-
yam udghā-
tite' is not
found.

p. 460 .. " 237, 12 and
7-8. Four
lines from
'dvāraprā-
kārageṣu'
are not
found.

p. 461 .. " 163, 51.

p. 468 .. " 228, 11b.

p. 469 .. " 236, 2a, 3a
and 4b.

p. 470 .. " 236, 2b and
4b.

p. 471 .. " 236, 1 and
3b-4.

p. 472 .. " 228, 14a.

p. 478 .. " 231, 7 and
8b-9a; 153,
175a.

- p. 483 .. " 134, 12b. see *Annals of the Bhandarkar*
 p. 484 .. " 238, 10a, 9a, *Oriental Research Institute*,
 10b-11a, 6b, XVII, p. 31.
 8, 5b and VIII. For the verses quoted
 11b, from the 'Padmapurāṇa' or
 p. 486 .. " 238, 15a-b 'Pādma' and traced in the
 and 16. printed *Padma*, see *Indian*
 p. 490 .. cf. " 241, 13. *Culture*, IV, p. 93.
 p. 492 .. " 241, 12. IX. Verses quoted from the
 p. 493 .. " 241, 14. 'Sivapurāṇa' in
 pp. 501-502 .. " 242, 19b-20. *Dānasāgara*,
 pp. 502-503 .. " 242, 2b-15a. fol. 13b .. *Sivapurāṇa* IV
 p. 514 .. " 242, 17b-18 (Sanatkumāra-
 and 15b-16. samhitā), 26,
 58-59.
 p. 560 .. " 235, 1-3. fol. 123b-124a .. " IV, 22
 p. 564 .. " 235, 4, 126b-123a.
 p. 583 .. " 237, 1-3a, fol. 126a .. " IV, 10, 44b-
 p. 584 .. " 237, 3b. 45a and 46b-
 p. 585 .. " 237; 4. 48a.
 p. 587 .. " 237, 9a and fol. 137a .. " IV, 10, 44b-
 13-14. 45a and 46b-
 p. 654 cf. " 237, 9b. 48a.
 p. 663 .. " 237, 5b. fol. 154a .. " IV, 25, 45.
 p. 689 .. " 237, 10. fol. 173a .. " IV, 10, 44b-
 p. 698 .. " 237, 11. 45a and 46b-
 p. 701 .. " 172, 15. 48a.
 pp. 701-702 .. " 233, 7-8. fol. 188a .. " IV, 22, 130b-
 p. 713 .. " 233, 2b. 131.
 p. 714 .. " 233, 9a. fol. 190b .. " IV, 22, 119
 pp. 733-6 .. " Chap. 228 (ex- (also cf. IV,
 cept verses 1, 13, 42b-43a)
 25b-26a and fol. 286a .. " IV, 22, 119
 29). also cf. IV,
 Two of the 13, 42b-43a.
 quoted lines fol. 291b-292a .. " IV, 20, 31;
 viz., 'ārogya- IV, 20, 9b-10a;
 dhanakāmaś IV, 20, 10b-c.
 ca' (*Adbhuta-*
sāgara, p. 733) X. Verses quoted from the
 and 'Kāryā *'Vāmanapurāṇa'* in
 mārudgaṇī' *Dānasāgara*,
 (*Adbhutasā-* fol. 5a .. *Vāmanap.* 95, 7-9
gara, p. 734) fol. 152a .. " 95, 44.
 are not found. fol. 181a .. " 95, 44.
 fol. 204b .. " 95, 44.
 p. 736 .. " 228, 29. The verse,
 pp. 743-4 .. " 229, 13b-20a, 'grhakarma-
 22b-24a, 20b- karim' is not
 22a and 24b- found.
 25. fol. 235a-b .. " 95, 23b-24a.
 p. 751 .. " 229, 10b-11a. fol. 236a .. " 95, 24b-c and
 (b) For the verses quoted 25-26a.
 from the '*Matsyapurāṇa*' or fol. 236b .. " 95, 26b-27a
 '*Mātsya*' in the *Dānasāgara* and and 27b-c.
 found in the printed *Matsya*,

- fol. 237a .. „ 95, 38. The verse 'ghṛ-tam ca' has undoubtedly been dropped.
- fol. 237b .. *Vāmanap.* 95, 39-40.
- fol. 238a .. „ 95, 41 and 43.
- XI. For the verses quoted from the '*Varāhapurāṇa*' in the *Dānasāgara* and traced in the printed *Varāha*, see *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVIII, p. 334.
- XII. Verses quoted from the '*Vāyupurāṇa*' or '*Vāyaviya*' in
- (a) *Dānasāgara*,
fol. 187a .. *Vāyu* 80, 59.
- (b) *Adbhutasāgara*,
p. 506 .. *Vāyu* 19, 18.
p. 507 .. „ 19, 17 and 25.
p. 508 .. „ 19, 13, 27 and 14.
p. 509 .. „ 19, 16, 33 and 15. The verse 'nagmam Śra-vaṇakam' is not found.
- XIII. For the verses quoted from 'the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*' in the *Dānasāgara* and traced in the printed *Viṣṇu*, see *Annals*, XVIII, p. 272.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE MUDRĀRĀKṢASA.

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We learn from the *Hero as Poet* that "Marlborough said that he knew no English History but what he had learned from Shakespeare." But in ancient India historical dramas were rare and *Mudrārākṣasa* rarer still. Of the extant political plays Viśākhadatta's is decidedly the best as the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is in the literature of *Daṇḍanīti* and the *Rājataranṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa among truly historical compositions. Dr. A. B. Keith characterises any attempt to distil history from the *Mudrārākṣasa* as "very dubious".¹ Mr. H.K. Deb considers the play as "abounding in historical absurdities".² Mr. P. L. Bhargava merely quotes the opinion of Smith and Hillebrandt that "the play, although full of imaginary details, is probably based on events which actually occurred"³. A better view is expounded by Mr. T. M. Sen: "In measuring the historical value of our play we should be guided by the general trend of the plot and the atmosphere pervading throughout, rather than by the personnel of the drama and the tribes and place-names. Thus it is idle to speculate regarding the identification of Parvataka, his son Malayaketu, and the frontier tribes who fought for and against Chandragupta".⁴ Yet he says that "the murder of Parvataka.....probably refers to the assassination of Philippos in B.C. 324-3".⁵ Dr. F. W. Thomas observes—"The *Mudrārākṣasa*...preserves...some outlines of the events which attended the foundation of the (Maurya) dynasty."⁶ We need not question its evidence, which we are justified by some analogies in regarding as a genuine theatrical tradition".⁷ This tradition is to be discussed "in a mood of pious agnosticism" and history, if one is to "observingly distil it out", will vindicate that work from the unmerited attacks on its

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1. *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 205 n.
 2. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, p. 479.
 3. *Candragupta Maurya*, p. 36.
 4. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. V, p. 9.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 14n.
 6. *C.H.J.*, Vol. I, p. 467.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 471.

historical value, as the critical insight of Dr. Bühler has vindicated the *Harṣacarita*.

(1) त्रिवर्ग¹

This indication of the *puruṣārthas* shows the conformity of the *Mudrārākṣasa* to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, and the numerous parallels between these two works, including the Kauṭilya—Viṣṇugupta identity, are striking.

(2) कौटिल्यः कुटिलमतिः स एष येन
क्रोधाग्नेौ प्रसभमदाहि नन्दवंशः²

The form Kauṭilya supplies the dominant note of the drama, the alternative form Kauṭalya, with the limited support of manuscript authority, being an after-thought of MM. T. Ganapati Sastri, provoked by the meaning of the name. The *Ārya-Maṇjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* gives Cāṇakya the characteristic titles of *krodhārāt* and *yamāntakaḥ*,³ but does not mention his role as king-maker. It places Candragupta immediately after *Nīcamukhya* (Mahāpadma) Nanda, and abolishes the Mauryan revolution. It is surprising that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal regards this as “a true history.”⁴

(3) वृषल⁵

Mr. Deb regards *Vṛṣala* as a personal name on the authority of the *Medinīkośa*,⁶ but personal names and titles are mixed up in Sanskrit lexicons, and even *Narendra* is regarded by some as a personal name of Candragupta Maurya. Further even personal names must have a meaning. Mr. Deb remarks: “The *Mudrārākṣasa* probably belongs to the Gupta period; and there is not an iota of evidence to show that the word *vṛṣala* had already changed in meaning from ‘herete’ or ‘outcaste’ to Śūdra by caste.”⁷ But the *Amarakośa*⁸ equates *Vṛṣala* with Śūdra:

शूद्राश्चावरवर्णाश्च वृषलाश्च जघन्यजाः .

1. *Mudrārākṣasa* (Act I, Verse 5). The references to the text are to Prof. K. H. Dhruva's edition, 1923, except where Telang's edition is mentioned.

2. I, 7.

3. K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 72.

4. *Ibid.*, Introductory, p. 15.

5. I, 9, 11.

6. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 469.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 471.

8. Śūdra Varga, line 1.

and it is generally assigned to the Gupta age. Mr. H. C. Raychaudhuri takes the word as analogous to *Vrātya*.¹ Mr. S. K. Bose tries to show its original sense.² But we are concerned with the meaning of a word used by Viśākhadatta, and can get at it by confining our attention to his age or a little earlier. Therefore the authority of the *Amarakośa* is practically decisive.

Now the question arises whether Kauṭilya would have addressed Candragupta as Śūdra. Dhundhirāja's explanation is unsatisfactory:

निःस्पृहत्वाद्राजानमपि तृणीकृत्य भृत्यवद्व्यपदिशति.³

If Kauṭilya wanted to slight Candragupta, he would not have used the other form of address, वत्स,⁴ or referred to the *Vṛṣala* as "the best of kings"⁵. To him Śūdra is not to call him names. To address one by one's caste-name is not unknown to-day. Moreover the successful Maurya revolution must have given commendable significance to Candragupta's caste-name. The professional status of Śūdras was not very different from that of Vaiśyas; the *Arthaśāstra* shows that *Vārtā* (agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade) was common to both castes.⁶ There does not seem to be any impropriety in Candragupta being addressed as Śūdra by his political *guru* Kauṭilya. One need not go to the extent of giving the term *Vṛṣala* an altogether different significance by taking it as meaning 'a horse'. If the *Vṛṣala-śūdra* equation is objectionable, the other equations mentioned above are still more objectionable; it would be more impolite to address Candragupta as heretic, outcaste or apostate. In these circumstances it is best to give the term *Vṛṣala* its normal meaning of Śūdra.

The famous *Purāṇic* statement, ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्याः शूद्रयेनयः,⁷ really means that generally kings from the time of the Nandas would be Śūdras, but to look for an exception to the rule immediately after the Nandas is to sacrifice the rule. In

1. *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 558.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 595-7.

3. Telang's edition, 1918, p. 160.

4. III, 18, 3.

5. III, 18.

6. The references to the *Arthaśāstra* are to the Trivandrum edition; Part I, p. 29.

7. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 25.

the absence of a specific statement to the contrary in the *Purāṇas*, Candragupta was a Śūdra to the *Paurāṇikas*.

Kauṭilya underlines good birth among the qualifications of officers of state. His ideal polity was one based on the *Varnāśramadharma*.¹ He believes Kṣatriya sovereignty to be the best.² A king should be a *mahākulīna*.³ Kauṭilya differs from *pūrvācāryas* in preferring a well-born (*abhiajāta*) but weak king to a strong but base-born (*anabhiajāta*) king⁴ and a well-born but unwise son to a wise but base-born son.⁵ Further, good birth is regarded by him as the supreme qualification for ministers and high priests⁶, for certain classes of spies and envoys,⁷ and for heads of departments.⁸ Lastly, he despises a king not of royal parentage (*arājabījī*).⁹ All this is supposed to negative the possibility of Kauṭilya enthroning a Śūdra Candragupta. But Śūdra birth should not be confounded with ignoble birth; Kauṭilya does not oppose *kulīnas* to Śūdras. Moreover, he could not have completely carried out in his early life the considered views of his in the evening of his life. His lust for vengeance on the Nandas would have left him few samples in the choice of instruments. At any rate, Candragupta was a *rājabījī*. Anyhow, the *Mudrārākṣasa* tradition cannot be dismissed on the negative evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. It is curious that some scholars who complain of lack of agreement between the *Mudrārākṣasa* and the *Kauṭīliya* appeal to the negative testimony of the latter to discredit the tradition embodied in the former.

Justin says that "Sandracottus was of humble origin".¹⁰ This does not necessarily mean that he was of ignoble origin. The Greek "Xandrames" is identified by some with Candragupta. It is no doubt to be equated with Candramas, but the historical details given by Greek writers apply to Mahāpadma Nanda rather than to Candragupta. The former is styled *Nīcamukhya* in the

1. I, p. 31.

2. I, p. 47.

3. II, p. 225.

4. III, p. 15.

5. II, p. 352.

6. I, pp. 45-6.

7. I, pp. 57 and 78.

8. I, p. 160.

9. II, p. 228.

10. Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. II, p. 149.

Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa.¹ As Candra and Nanda are derived from roots of the same meaning—चन्द् and नन्द्—, the Nanda king could be referred to as Candramas. The *vigraha* of the compound Candragupta may be चन्द्रात् गुप्तः, and the Greek “Xandrames” may refer to Candragupta’s persecutor, Nanda or Candramas.

The “*Vaṃṣa Mōriyar*” of Tamil literature has been variously understood. The *Tamil Lexicon*² gives a number of meanings to “*Vaṃṣu*” and its variants. ‘*Vaṃṣan*’ means an illegitimate son, and Dr. F. W. Thomas translates that expression as “Bastard Mauryas”.³ “*Vaṃṣu*” also means newness. It seems best to take this sense and interpret that expression as upstart Mauryas.⁴ The Śūdra sovereignty of Candragupta must have made him appear as a parvenu to Māmūlanār.

Dr. B. C. Law observes: “Candragupta is represented (in the *Mudrārākṣasa*) as an illegitimate son of the last Nanda king by a Śūdra woman named Murā”.⁵ But the Murā story is not incorporated in that drama. “According to the popular tradition he (Mahāpadma Nanda) had by a wife of low extraction, called Murā, another son named Candragupta. This last circumstance is not stated in the *Purāṇas* nor *Vrihat Kathā*, and rests therefore on rather questionable authority”.⁶ The commentator on the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* mentions Murā as “one of the wives of Nanda”.⁷ Dhunḍhirāja’s *upodghāta* describes Murā as the Śūdra wife, not the concubine, of the Nanda:

राज्ञः पत्नी सुनन्दासीज्येष्ठान्या वृषलात्मजा ।

मुराख्या सा प्रिया भर्तुः शीललावण्यसंपदा ॥⁸

Candragupta could be of ignoble birth only if his mother had been a concubine. If she had been merely a Śūdrā married to the Nanda king, an *anuloma* connection would be perfectly legal and moral. The description of Candragupta as a *kulahina* by

1. K. P. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

2. VI, p. 3493.

3. *C.H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 596.

4. S. K. Aiyangar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 89;

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, I, p. 27 n.

5. *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 213.

6. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

8. Telang’s edition, p. 42.

Rākṣasa will be discussed in the next section. Mr. Shantilal Shah, after an exhaustive examination of the Buddhist, Jain and Greek evidences, prefers the Brahmanical account of Candragupta's parentage as it is the least objectionable.¹ It is difficult to set aside the *Mudrārākṣasa* tradition of Candragupta's origin on the authority of the Buddhist tradition and of other evidences of doubtful value.

(4) अहो राक्षसस्य नन्दवंशे निरतिशयो भक्तिगुणः²

This observation of Kauṭilya is the key to the historical interpretation of Rākṣasa's encomiums on the Nandas and of his denunciations of their enemies, the Mauryas. A failure to appreciate the outcome of his invincible loyalty is responsible for the confusion of his strictures with the views of Viśākhadatta and for adverse comments on the historical value of the *Mudrārākṣasa*.³ Rākṣasa was bound by the law of his being to make the Nandas *kulīnas* and the Mauryas *kulahīnas*.

(5) अस्माकं सहाध्यायी मित्रमिन्दुशर्मा नाम ब्राह्मण औशनस्यां दण्डनीत्यां परं प्रावीण्यमुपगतः ।⁴

Kauṭilya's fellow-pupil and friend Induśarman was a master of *Auśanasadaṇḍanīti* or *Śukranīti*. The *Arthaśāstra* says:

दण्डनीतिरेका विद्येत्यौशनसाः ।

तस्यां हि सर्वविद्यारम्भाः प्रतिबद्धा इति ॥⁵

Therefore, Viśākhadatta's Kauṭilya must have had knowledge of the most advanced political thought. Moreover, the *Arthaśāstrakāra* begins his work by offering *namaskāra* to Śukra,⁶ quotes the views of the *Auśanasas*, and shows that his own opinions are in the neighbourhood of their injunctions. In the drama Kauṭilya is mentioned as a धर्मवित्तर and a सर्वज्ञ.⁷ He is eulogised by Rākṣasa thus:

आकरः सर्वशास्त्राणां रत्नानामिव सागरः⁸ ।

1. The *Traditional Chronology of the Jainas*, Banner Orientalische Studien, No. 9, p. 13.

2. I. 12, 2.

3. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 479.

4. I. 15, 15.

5. I, p. 27.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

7. I. 17, 10 and 15.

8. VII, 8.

Further, he refers explicitly to the views of *Arthaśāstrakāras* in two places.¹ Therefore, though Viśākhadatta does not mention him as an *Arthaśāstrakāra*, he could be none other than the *Arthaśāstrakāra* Kauṭilya. The crowning effort of his diplomacy makes Rākṣasa suspect that he was not a दुरात्मा but a महात्मा.²

(6) अपथ्यकारिषु तीक्ष्णदण्डो राजा³ ।

That Candragupta was severe only towards traitors is clear also from:

चन्द्रगुप्तस्य जनपदे न नृशंसा प्रतिपत्तिः⁴ ।

This is not in conflict with the *Arthaśāstra* dictum:

तीक्ष्णदण्डो हि भूतानामुद्वेजनीयः ।

मृदुदण्डः परिभूयते । यथार्हदण्डः पूज्यः ॥⁵

(7) अनभिजाते !

पृथिव्यां किं दग्धाः प्रथितकुलजा भूमिपतयः

पतिं पापं मौर्यं यदसि कुलहीनं वृत्तवती⁶ ।

पतिं त्यक्त्वा देवं भुवनपतिमुच्चैरभिजनं

गता शीघ्रेण श्रीवृषलमविनीतेव वृषली ॥⁷

This contrast between the high birth of the Nandas and the ignoble birth of Candragupta is due solely to the boundless loyalty of Rākṣasa, and should not be regarded as Viśākhadatta's perversion of history. Candragupta could have been a *kulahīna* only if his mother had been a concubine. Rākṣasa's abuse is probably the basis of the later Murā story, which is no part of the *Mudrārākṣasa* tradition. Mr. Deb's extracts to show that Candragupta was a *kulahīna*, according to Viśākhadatta, are from Rākṣasa's impassioned lament.⁸

(8) शक्यवनकिरातकाम्बोजपारसीकबाह्लीकप्रभृतिभिः⁹ ।

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1. III. 19, 17; V. 7, 5.
 2. VII, 7, 4.
 3. I. 23, 9.
 4. VI, 15, 36.
 5. I, p. 33.
 6. II, 7.
 7. VI, 6.
 8. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 467-8.
 9. II, 12, 20.

This shows that the Maurya revolution was effected by Kauṭilya and Candragupta with foreign help. The other features of the revolution may be deduced from the drama—more diplomacy than bloodshed, insecurity of Candragupta after the overthrow of the Nandas owing to the fidelity and machinations of the loyalists, etc. There is no reason to question the historicity of the main outlines of the revolution dramatised by Viśākha-datta, in spite of the anachronisms and exaggerations vitiating his account and the doubtful chronological value of the sequence of events.

(9) विषाङ्गना ।¹ औषधं चन्द्रगुप्ताय ।² शयितस्य चन्द्रगुप्तस्य ।³
तीक्ष्णरसदादीनाम् ।⁴

These methods of Kauṭilyan state-craft minimising bloodshed and maximising intrigue and diplomacy, are directly confirmed by the Arthaśāstra, which explains the terms, *Tikṣṇas* and *Rasadās*.⁵

(10) नववयसि ।⁶ बाल एव.....क्रमेणारूढवान् राज्यम् ।⁷

That Candragupta was young at his accession to the throne is mentioned by Plutarch as well.⁸ Since he ruled for twenty-four years, he must have died prematurely about forty-five years of age.⁹ The expression *kramaṇa* may suggest that his acquisition of the Nanda throne was the culmination of his imperial effort and that the overthrow of the Macedonian garrisons in the Punjab had been effected earlier than the Magadhan revolution. The concluding portion of the drama, indicating peace and relation of military effort, also lends support to such a presumption.

(11) अहो राजाधिराजमन्त्रिणो विभूतिः ।¹⁰

उपलशकलमेतद्.....जीर्णकुड्यम् ॥¹¹

1. II, 15.
2. II, 15, 51.
3. II, 15, 63.
4. I, 14, 13.
5. I, pp. 56-7.
6. III, 3.
7. VII, 13.
8. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
9. K. P. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, Introductory, p. 17.
10. III, 14, 2.
11. III, 15.

This description of Kauṭilya's cottage is by no means unbelievable. It is quite suited to his *śrotriya*dharma. According to Ferishta, Mahmūd Gāwān in the 15th century A.D. fulfilled the ideal of plain living and high thinking; almost all his earnings were devoted to charity, public and private. So the emoluments of the Mauryan Chancellor need not be an obstacle to his saintly life. According to the *Arthaśāstra*, the minister's salary was 48,000 *paṇas*.¹ Dr. Smith observes: "The value of a silver *paṇa*...may be taken as not far from a shilling."² Therefore Kauṭilya's salary of Rs. 36,000 *per annum*, or Rs. 3000 *per mensem*, was lower than that of some of our provincial officers at the present day.

(12) वृषलेन वृषेण राज्ञाम् ।³

This is quoted as evidence against Candragupta's Sūdra origin,⁴ but it only indicates that he was the best of kings. It further shows the untenability of the reading *Vṛṣabha* for *Vṛṣala*.

(13) आशैलेन्द्रात्.....दक्षिणस्यार्णवस्य ।⁵

अम्भोधीनाम्चतुर्णाम् ॥⁶

This conventional description of Candragupta's *ādhirājya* agrees with the limits of the *Cakravartikṣetra* of the *Arthaśāstra*:

देशः पृथिवी । तस्यां हिमवत्समुद्रान्तरमुदीचीनं योजनसहस्रपरिमाणं तिर्यक् चक्रवर्तिक्सेत्रम् ।⁷

(14) अर्थशास्त्रकारास्त्रिविधां सिद्धिमुपवर्णयन्ति राजायत्तां सचिवायत्ता-
मुभयायत्तां च ।⁸

This classification of Governmental forms—royal, ministerial and royal-ministerial—apparently goes against the monarchist view of Kauṭilya, but it is mentioned in the course of a शुष्ककलह. Further, Rākṣasa describes Candragupta's government as ministerial⁹ in order to show his weakness without the support

1. II, p. 202.

2. *The Early History of India*, 4th edn., p. 149.

3. III, 18.

4. *Indian culture*, Vol. II, p. 596 n.

5. III, 19.

6. III, 24.

7. III, p. 45.

8. III, 19, 17.

9. IV, 12, 37.

of Kauṭilya. The truth of the matter is brought out in the description of *Vṛṣala* as प्रधानप्रकृति,¹ though domineered over by Kauṭilya.

(15) गजाध्यक्षो.....क्षत्रगणमुख्यः² ।

This and similar passages remind us of the *adhyakṣas* of the *Arthaśāstra*. The omission of the रथाध्यक्ष from the *Mudrārākṣasa* is significant and helps the assignment of the work to a period when chariots fell into disuse, viz., 7th century A. D., on the negative evidence of Hiuen Tsang and Bāṇa. The *Bharatavākya* would suggest the age of a *Vaiṣṇava* emperor of eminence, but not of the Maukhari Avantivarman Parameśvara.³

(16) अद्य दशमो मासः⁴

This shows that the Maurya revolution was prolonged to nearly a year, a point noted by Dr. Smith.⁵

(17) नन्दान्वय एवायम् ।⁶ नन्दकुलमनेन पितृकुलभूतं कृतघ्नेन वातितम् ।⁷ मौर्योऽसौ स्वामिपुत्रः ।⁸ गोत्रान्तरं श्रीर्गता ।⁹

It is clear that Candragupta was a *Nandavamśya* but belonged to a *gotrāntara*. This does not necessarily mean that there were two Nanda dynasties, one respectable and another disreputable. The interpretation of *Navanandāḥ* as Neo-Nandas is rightly rejected by Dr. O. Stein.¹⁰ The *Purāṇic* tradition mentions nine Nandas, names two of them, and says that eight Nandas would rule in succession to the first Nanda.¹¹ The names of all the nine Nandas, from Ugrasena, to Dhana, are given in the *Mahābodhivamśa*.¹²

1. I, 14, 20.

2. III, 24, 11.

3. E.A. Pires, *The Maukharis*, p. 104.

4. IV, 4, 11.

5. *Oxford History of India*, 1st edn., p. 73 n.

6. IV, 7, 15.

7. IV, 12, 26.

8. V, 19.

9. VI, 5.

10. *Archiv Orientalin*, I, p. 360.

11. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

12. R. K. Mookerji, *Hindu Civilization*, p. 276.

(18) अर्थशास्त्रव्यवहारिणामर्थवशादरिमित्रोदासीनव्यवस्था न लौकिकानामिव स्वेच्छावशात् ।

This is, exactly, the political morality outlined in the *Arthaśāstra*, which is however, out of harmony with the *Dharmaśāstra* ideal, inspite of the special pleading of M. M. Ganapati Sastri that even the sage Buddha would not but have given similar advices (sic) had he written an *Arthaśāstra*.²

(19) म्लेच्छराजलोकस्य मध्ये प्रधानतमाः पञ्च राजानः ।³ राज्यार्थ-
हृत् ।⁴ कुलालचक्रमिव मे चेतश्चिरं भ्राम्यति ।⁵ चन्द्रगुप्तादपि बलीयः पर्वते-
श्वरः ।⁶ प्रस्थातव्यं पुरस्तात् etc. ।⁷ ते गम्भीरं श्वभ्रमभिनीय पांशुभिः
पूर्यन्ताम् ।⁸ शैलेश्वरं समधिकृत्य कृतः प्रयत्नः ।⁹ अहो विवेकशून्यता म्लेच्छस्य
मलयकेतोः ।¹⁰ देवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः प्रयच्छति मलयकेतवे पित्र्यं विषयम् ।¹¹

These passages contain a distorted echo of the invasion of India by Seleucos Nicator. More than a century ago (1835) Wilson wrote: "The failure of Seleucos in his attempt to extend his power in India and his relinquishment of territory may possibly be connected with the discomfiture and retreat of Malayaketu, as narrated in the drama."¹² Mr. Jayaswal suggests the substitution of Salayaketu (Seleucos) for Malayaketu.¹³ Mr. D.M. Mukhopadhyaya proposes the identification of Malayaketu with Meleager or with Seleucos and of Parvataka with Philippos.¹⁴ Dr. F. W. Thomas identifies Parvataka with Porus.¹⁵

1. V, 7, 5; V. 8.
2. III, Introduction, p. 3.
3. I, 18, 108.
4. II, 16.
5. V, 5.
6. V, 7, 7.
7. V, 11.
8. V, 21, 12.
9. VI, 7.
10. VI, 7, 1.
11. VII, 16, 19.
12. *op. cit.*, p. 134.
13. *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, p. 267.
14. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, XXVII, p. 8.
15. *C.H.I.*, I, p. 471.

No doubt Malayaketu appears in the drama in Indian religious costume; see his lament at not performing his father's funeral ceremonies.¹ But his alliances with the chief kings in the heart of the *mleccha* country; his vacillation and confusion; the punishment he meted out to some of his allies, reminiscent of the Athenian treatment of the envoys of Darius I demanding "earth and water" as recorded by Herodotus; his aiming at half the kingdom of Candragupta; his retreat and reconciliation with the Indian monarch; and, above all, the description of Parvataka or Śaileśvara as greater than Candragupta, seem to support the identification of Malayaketu with Seleucos.

(20) प्रियदर्शन²

This title of Caudragupta shows that Aśoka inherited it. Mr. Raya Chaudhuri therefore suggests that the interval of 218 years between the Buddhanirvāṇa and the accession of *Priyadarśin* may be from 544 B.C. to 326 B.C. and that the Ceylonese traditional date of the Buddha's decease may be supported.³

The close conformity of the *Mudrārākṣasa* to the *Arthaśāstra*, its realistic picture of the maxims and methods of Kauṭilyan statecraft, its administrative terminology, its peeps into the criminal law and social life of the Maurya age, and its outlines of the Nanda-Candragupta conflict, are of supreme value as independent or corroborative testimony. Barring anachronisms and palpable exaggerations, its evidence need not be distrusted unless it is directly contradicted by sources of greater veracity. The attempts to pooh-pooh the *Mudrārākṣasa* tradition in the light of the Ceylonese Buddhist tradition necessitate emphasis on the golden dictum of Dr. Smith: "A moment's thought will show that legends preserved in Northern India . . . are more likely to transmit genuine tradition than those which reached the distant island of Ceylon in translations brought, nobody knows how, when, or whence, and subsequently largely modified by local and sectarian influences."⁴

1. IV, 4, 12.

2. Telang's edition, p. 265.

3. *Indian Culture*, II, p. 560.

4. *The Early History of India*, p. 180.

THE SIDDHĀNTAŚLOKA IN THE IṢṬASIDDHI.

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Error or erroneous cognition (*bhrama*) is a very interesting problem in the study of Indian philosophy. The explanation of how error comes into being, its exact nature, its object (*viṣaya*) etc., are absorbingly interesting, abounding in a metaphysical super-subtlety. Each school of philosophy tries to explain illusion (*bhrama*) in its own way. Traditionally there are five¹ *khyātivādas* (theories of error): *Ātmakhyāti* (the theory of self-apprehension, *asatkhyāti* (theory of non-being's apprehension), *akhyāti* (theory of non-apprehension), *anyathākhyāti* (theory of mis-apprehension), and *anirvacaniyakhyāti* (the theory of indefinable's apprehension).

Over and above these five theories, there are some minor variants of these. The *Bhāṭṭas* hold what is known as *viparīta-khyāti* (contrary experience) which only deviates from the *anyathākhyāti* (mis-apprehension, held by the *Naiyāyikas*) very slightly, the only difference being in their rejection of the *Naiyāyika's* explanation of *bhrama* through the extra-normal sense-relation (*alaukika-sannikarṣa*). The *Mādhvas* maintain what they call their own version of *anyathākhyāti* (i.e., *abhināvānyathākhyāti*) which is only a case of mixing up *asatkhyāti* with *anyathākhyāti*. The *Rāmānujīyas* hold what is called *akhyāti-Samvalita-Satkhyāti* (non-apprehension cum apprehension of reality). This is also known as *yathārtha-khyāti*. According to them error in cognition really opens up a subtle truth, which under normal conditions is missed.²

1. आत्मख्यातिरसत्ख्यातिरख्यातिः ख्यातिरन्यथा ।

तथानिर्वचनख्यातिरित्येतत् ख्यातिपञ्चकम् ॥

2. According to the *Rāmānujīyas*, in all the three types of error, nothing but the red is presented. But in each of them, some relevant feature of the given is missed—(a) *Lohita-Sphaṭika-bhrama*. Here redness and crystal are both presented; but the

Critically viewing all these theories from an ontological stand-point, they can be classified mainly under two heads, viz. *Satkhyāti* and *asatkhyāti*. And this two-fold classification has been the basis of Vimuktātman's criticism of the theories of the other schools. Though much of his views is borrowed from Vācaspati Miśra, who himself has borrowed from Maṇḍanamīśra, Vimuktātman displays a keen logical and metaphysical subtlety in exposing the weak points in the theories other than the *anirvacanīyakhyāti*. The chief argument in his criticism is stated in his Siddhānta-śloka:

सत्त्वे न भ्रान्तिबाधौ स्तां नासत्त्वे ख्यातिबाधकौ ।

सदसद्भयामनिर्वाच्याविद्या वेद्यैः सह भ्रमाः ॥

Iṣṭasiddhi, I, 9.

an exposition of which is attempted in this article closely following Vimuktātman's own interpretation :

If nacre-silver really exists just as it is presented, then like real silver it cannot be sublated at a later moment and hence there can be no illusion at all. In the same way, if the nacre-silver is also totally non-existent, it cannot be presented in experience just as a hare's horn; and in this case also there cannot be any later sublation. The sublation can be thought of only after a thing has been presented in experience. There is likely to be a plausible objection here which Vimuktātman anticipates and disposes of very easily. For one may be inclined to say that the whole of the nacre-silver is not non-existent, but only a part of it, so that the remaining part being existent, it cannot be said

fact that they are *asamsrṣṭa* is overlooked. (b) *Sukti-rajata-bhrama*: *Rajata* is actually presented, for *rajata* particles are found in the object commonly known as *śukti*, according to Rāmānuja's view of the constitution of the physical universe. But this element is *alpā* or negligible in quantity as compared with the *śukti* element. It is this *alpatva* that is missed in *Sukti-rajata-bhrama*. (c) *Dreams*. The object dreamt of (say, an elephant) is quite as real as the corresponding object of waking experience. But the former is private to the dreaming person, while the latter is public. Their being *private* is what is missed in the case of dream-objects.

For an account of the various *Khyātivādas* see Prof. M. Hiriyanna's Introduction to the Iṣṭasiddhi, pp. XVI—XXVI; see also Introduction to the Vibhramaviveka, by Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri.

that it will not be presented in experience. That is, the *idam-aiṁśātmatva* of silver (part of the silver qualified by *thisness* in an experience of the form 'this is silver') alone is *asat* and not the very silver itself, so that the silver in its own nature can be experienced. Vimuktātman tersely answers this objection thus. That part of silver which is non-existent cannot be experienced, and with respect to that there can be no illusion or later stultification. The idea underlying this answer is this. If the *idam-aiṁśātmatva* of silver alone is non-existent and not silver as such, then the experience can take the form of only silver and not as 'this is silver'.

(तर्हि रूप्यमात्रख्यातिरेव स्यान्न त्विदं रूप्यमिति सामानाधिकरण्यख्यातिः ।

Iṣṭasiddhivivarāṇa, Gaek. Edn., p. 483.)

The opponent may now try to escape from the difficulty by holding the view expressed in the words:

भावान्तरमभावोऽन्यो न कश्चिदनिरूपणात् ।

That is, taking non-existence to be *tādātmya* the opponent may say that by *asat* (non-existent) he does not mean a totally non-existent entity as a hare's horn, but only another *sat* (*sadantara*) or its attribute (*sadantaradharma*) which has to be realised by *abhāva-pramāṇa* (means of knowing non-existence through non-cognition). Thus he says that *asat* (non-existent), being only another form of an existent or its attribute (*sadantaradharma*) can be presented in experience. Thus he wishes to point out that the criticism based on the fact that *asat* (non-existent) cannot be produced in experience is incorrect.

Vimuktātman replies to this objection briefly as follows: Even granting for argument's sake that such an explanation is possible, *asat* by the fact that it is *asat* (non-existent) can be presented in experience only as *asat* (non-existent). In this case there is only *asat-khyāti* (cognition of the non-existent) and therefore no *bhrānti*.

यद्यप्यभावप्रमाणप्रमेयमसदङ्गीकरोषि, तथापि नास्तित्येव ख्यातिप्रसङ्गात् इदं रूप्यमिति सत्त्वेन ख्यातिरूपा भ्रान्तिर्न स्यात् इति परिहरति तथापीति ।

(Iṣṭasiddhivivarāṇa, Gaek. Edn., p. 483.)

And *asat-khyāti* (i.e., *asataḥ khyātiḥ*, *pratītiḥ*) as has been pointed out above is an impossibility. Further, if it be said that the non-existent appears as existent, then is that *sadrūpa* (form of the existent) real or unreal? If real, it cannot be sublated and

thus there is no illusion. And, if the *sadrūpa* of the non-existent is unreal, then there is no cognition (*khyāti* or *pratīti*) of it at all and thus also no illusion is possible.

The opponent may try to escape further by holding the view that *asat* has no *sadrūpa*; but still it appears to have a *sadrūpa* and thus is capable of being brought into the field of experience. Vimuktātman disposes of this view by putting forth a *vikalpa*. He asks the opponent whether the *sadrūpa* (existent's form) which the non-existent appears to possess is really non-existent, or has the non-existent (*asat*) no real relation with the *sadrūpa*? In both the cases the previous objection that what is really non-existent cannot admit of being presented in experience, will serve as an answer. Therefore, if nacre-silver is non-existent, there is no possibility of its cognition (*pratīti*) and hence no illusion can be held. And even if it be said that *sat-khyāti* is possible in the case of *asat* (non-existent) with reference to holding *asat* as *tādātmya*, as above, still there is only *sat-khyāti* (apprehension of reality) and not *bhrama* (illusion) or later stultification. And hence is it said *na asatve khyāti-bādhakau*.

“अत उक्तप्रकारेण तादात्म्यस्यासत्त्वे सत्त्व्यातिर्न घटत इति भ्रमो न सिध्यतीत्याह अतोऽसत्त्वं इति” *Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa*, Gaek. Edn., p. 483.

Or the first *pāda* of the verse (I, 9) quoted above, serves as a refutation of the *sat-khyāti* (theory of existent's apprehension). For if nacre-silver be held to really exist, there is no illusion; and if a part of it be held to be non-existent, then the other part (which is existent) cannot suffer any sublation. This is contrary to experience.

The second *pāda* is an objection to *asat-khyāti* (theory of non-being's apprehension) held by the Nihilistic school of Buddhists. For what is totally non-existent cannot be brought into the field of experience and as such there cannot be any illusion. If it be held that nacre-silver is not *tuccha* (void or absolute nothing), and thus can be experienced and as such, *bhrama* is possible, then since *tuccha* (void) cannot be presented in experience, there will be no *tuccha-bodha* (cognition of the non-existent) to sublimate the *atuccha-rūpya*. That is, the sublating cognition according to the *asatkhyātivādin* is *idam tuccham* (this is void). But such a cognition is impossible since what is void cannot be experienced. Hence the cognition *idam rajatam* will not be cancelled and thus the experience is not a *bhrama*.

This is contrary to experience. Therefore the contention that *tuccha* (absolute nothing) is presented in experience in the form of nacre-silver is at variance with fact. Or again it can be said that silver being totally non-existent, it is not at all presented in experience and hence can undergo no later sublation. In any way *asat-khyāti* (i.e. *asataḥ khyātiḥ*, cognition of the non-existent) is contrary both to reason and experience.

Again, both the first two *pādas* together can be taken to refute the *asat-khyāti* (theory of non-being's apprehension). It is thus: Does the thing which appears as silver, appear as non-existent (*asat*) or existent (*sat*)? In the first case there is no illusion or sublation, for, the non-existent cannot be experienced. In the latter, does *tuccha* (absolute nothing) which is held to be manifesting itself in the form of nacre-silver, possess the *sadrūpa* (real existent's form) or not? In the first case, there is no illusion or later sublation, for, what is real (*sat*) cannot occasion error and will not be sublated. If *tuccha* does not possess *sadrūpa*, even then *tuccha* cannot be experienced as silver. Thus where there is no *khyāti* at all stultification (*bādha*) has no room.

Here the *pūrvapakṣin* (who holds the *prima facie* view) may bring forward a modification of his statement. He may say that *tuccha* (absolute nothing) really has no form of real silver, but still it appears as though it were real silver. Thus he wishes to point out that *tuccha*, even though it has no real *sadrūpa*, can be presented in experience and thus *bhrama* is possible. But Vimuktātman further objects to this as follows:—

तुच्छस्य सद्रूप्यात्मता तुच्छैव उत सती ?

Does *tuccha*, even when it is experienced as silver, possess that form (silverness) really or not? And if real, is the *rūpyātmata* (silverness) of *tuccha* real or not? If the silverness of *tuccha* is also *tuccha*, the experience of *tuccha* (absolute nothing) as silver is an absolute impossibility. If, on the other hand, it be held that the silverness of *tuccha*, is not *tuccha*, then is the *rūpyātmata* real or unreal? If real, there is no illusion or sublation and if unreal, there is only *nāstikhyāti* and not *rūpyakhyāti*.

The *pūrvapakṣin*, now being driven to a corner, may try to escape by saying that *tuccha* does not really possess silverness even during the time of its being apprehended as such, but *tuccha* only appears to have a relation with silver. This relation also can be negated by putting forth a three-fold *vikalpa* as

before. That is, is the relation between *tuccha* and silver, *tuccha* or not. If the relation is *tuccha*, then there can be no *sat-khyāti*. And if the relation is not *tuccha*, then is the relation real or unreal? If real, it cannot be sublated, and if unreal there is only *nāsti-khyāti* and not illusion. Thus in all such cases illusion cannot be reasonably established. If it be again said that silver also is unreal, but at the same time it only appears as real, then also the same three-fold *vikalpa* and the same answer will silence the *pūrvapakṣin*.

असतो यत्सद्रूपं तदपि किमसदेव उत सत्, सत्त्वेऽप्यस्ति उत न इति
विकल्प्य परिहारो द्रष्टव्यः ।

Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa, p. 484.

After refuting the *satpakṣa* in a particular way before, Vimuktātman now turns to refute all the *satpakṣas* in a general manner. This, of course, excludes *akhyātivāda* where no *bādhyā* is admitted.

इदानीं यः कश्चित् बाध्यांशः स सत्त्वेन भाति न वेति साधारण्येन सत्पक्ष-
निराकरणे श्लोकार्थं योजयति सत्पक्षेऽपीत्यादिना ।

Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa, p. 484.

The usage of the word *sādhāraṇyena* refers to the refutation of all *satpakṣas* except *akhyāti*. The general refutation of Vimuktātman is as follows: Even if it be said that silver that is experienced in an illusion is unreal, but only the sublated portion was non-existent which alone appeared as existent, then does the *bādhyāmśa*¹ (sublatable portion) appear as real or not? If it is real, then just like the unsublatable portion (*abādhyāmśa*), the sublatable portion also cannot be stultified. If the *bādhyāmśa*, (say, of silver) does not really have any silverness, there can arise no cognition of silver at all or its stultification. And then there is no justification in calling that portion *bādhyāmśa*. There is, so to say, *svarūpa-hāni*. Further, it cannot be held that a part of a thing is sublatable and another part of the same thing unsublatable. Either both the parts are sublatable, in which case, the whole being non-existent, there is no illusion at all; or both the parts are real (*abādhyā*) in which case the sublatable portion is also equally real as the unsublatable portion. And before stultification (*bādhyā*) the difference between *bādhyā* and *abādhyā*

1. The *bādhyāmśa* may be silver, or identity or *bāhyatva*. The word *sādhāraṇyena* used in the commentary is very significant.

cannot be known. Hence, if at all silver be conceived in the case of nacre-silver, it should either be wholly sublatale or wholly unsublatable; and in both the cases illusion cannot be satisfactorily established. Granting for argument's sake that the difference between sublatale and unsublatable is known even before sublation, still, if both the sublatale and unsublatable parts are presented in experience as existent (*sat*), then the difference between them ceases to exist since what is real cannot be stultified. Thus since both the sublatale and unsublatable parts are equally real, if one is sublated, the other should necessarily be sublated, and if the unsublatable part is not stultified, there is no reason why the sublatale part should be stultified.

Now it may be said that really there is difference between nacre and silver, but what is held as sublatale (*bādhya*) is the conception of their oneness. Here also Vimuktātman adopts his powerful old weapon of *vikalpa* in silencing his adversary. Even when the difference between silver and nacre is known, does their identity continue to be presented in experience? If so, the relation of identity between nacre and silver is also equally real as nacre and silver. Or, if the relation of identity is unreal, then the relata also are unreal. But if it be held that when the difference between nacre and silver is known, the relation of identity between them does not continue, then the conception of of their identity is a case of *ajñāna*. Otherwise, the relation of identity also cannot be sublated just as the relata. If it be said that the sublatale portion (*bādhyaṁśa*) of silver is also cognised, then just like the cognition of the unsublatable portion (*abādhyaṁśa*) the *bādhyaṁśa-jñāna* (cognition of the sublatale part) has also a real *artha* or *viṣaya* (object) for its cognition. If not, the unsublatable part also will be unreal, since no difference can be established between the sublatale and unsublatable parts in the sphere of knowledge. And for all pieces of knowledge, if there is no knowable (*jñeya*), then there is no *bādhya-bādhaka-bhāva* (state of being sublated and sublating) between one piece of cognition and another. If, on the other hand, every *jñāna* (cognition) has a *jñeya* (knowable), then also there is no *bādhya-bādhaka-bhāva*, for what is known is a *sadartha* (real object) and no sublation is possible for it. If it be held that the sublatale part is experienced as non-existent, there is either no knowledge of the *bādhyaṁśa* or the knowledge of the sublatale part is one without a knowable (*jñeya-śūnya-jñāna*). In such a case where-

from can *bhrama* arise and its later sublation? To say that there is a *jñāna* (knowledge) and at the same time that it has no *jñeya* (knowable) is contradictory.

Even in the case of *Akhyāti* (theory of non-being's apprehension, held by the Prābhākaras) if *jñāna* has a knowable object exactly as it is experienced, there can never be any illusion or sublation; so also if the object for *bhrama* be held to be *asat* (non-existent), there can be no experience of it at all and wherefrom can there be any illusion or sublation? If it be said that cognition has an object for it, but in cases of so-called illusion there arise two positive concepts, both of which are real, but their *aviveka* or non-discrimination arising out of the *pramuṣṭa-tattāka-smaraṇa*¹ i.e. recollection of an object robbed of its thatness constitutes *bhrama*, then it may be asked is this *aviveka* (non-discrimination) a piece of knowledge or knowable? If non-discrimination is a knowledge, it should be cognition of a real and not an illusion. And if non-discrimination is a *jñeya* (knowable), is it cognised (*jñāta*) or not cognised (*ajñāta*)? In both the cases non-discrimination cannot be an illusion. For, if

1. The Prābhākaras contend that when silver is cognised in a piece of shell, *two concepts* arise, one the *perception* of nacre in a general way as this (*idam*) and not as characterised by the distinctive feature nacre-ness, and the other the *recollection* of silver previously cognised elsewhere. This recollection is not identified as recollection, but only as a cognition since the object of recollection *viz.*, silver, is thought of merely as silver stripped of its association with the past time and the particular place where it was seen. Such a recollection is technically described by the Prābhākaras as *pramuṣṭa-tattāka-smaraṇa*.| The non-distinction of the concepts gives rise to the non-distinction of their respective objects and as a result of such non-discrimination activity is seen. Really there is no illusion at all according to this school. In certain other types of error as 'the conch is yellow' etc. the Prābhākara says that two *imperfect* cognitions arise, one the visual *perception* of the conch as conch with its real colour missed, and the other the visual *perception* of the yellow colour of the bilious matter which causes jaundice the relation of the yellow colour to the bilious substance being missed, the lack of relation between the yellow colour and the conch also being missed. Thus in all cases of *bhrama* two distinct cognitions—either a perception and a recollection or two perceptions—arise; and their distinction being missed, the difference between the respective objects is missed for the time being; and as a result of such non-discrimination, volitional decision leading to voluntary activity arises:

See Vibhramaviveka, Introduction by Mm. Kuppaswami Sastri, pp. iii-iv.

non-discrimination is a *jñāta-jñeya* (cognised knowable), then it is a real one and cannot be sublated, for what is known cannot be negated; and if non-discrimination is *ajñāta-jñeya* (uncognised knowable), then by the very fact that it is unknown, there is no non-discrimination at all. For discrimination or non-discrimination can be thought of only after knowing something and not before. And if it be held that this *aviveka* (non-discrimination) is neither a *jñāna* nor a *jñeya* but something else, is it indefinable (*anirvacanīya*)? The Prābhākara will not say this for he will be unconsciously lending himself to the *anirvacanīya-khyāti*.¹ Thus in all other cases illusion and sublation cannot be satisfactorily established, and since both these are very widely recognised also, the indefinable *avidyā* or *māyā* alone can be said to take the form of *bhrama* as 'this is silver' etc. and of the object for such cases of illusion.

तस्मात् पक्षान्तरेषु भ्रान्तिबाधयोरसंभवात् तयोश्च प्रसिद्धत्वात् सद-
सत्त्वभ्यामनिर्वचनीयाविधैव इदं रजतमित्यादि भ्रान्तिज्ञानं तज्ज्ञेयं च इति
सिद्धम् ।

Iṣṭasiddhi., Gaek. Edn., p. 125.

It can be clearly noted that Vimuktātman with his very pointed weapon of *vikalpa* never fails to cut asunder and blast the theories of error held by others. His criticism of the *khyāti-vādas* and the establishment of the theory of the indefinable's apprehension is a most scholarly piece of contribution to the development of *advaita*, both in the destructive and constructive aspects, destructive with regard to the other views and constructive with respect to monism. His chief object in view in writing an elaborate polemical work is to establish *Māyā*. And he himself indicates this in unmistakable terms when he says:

‘अतो माय्यात्मैको मयेष्टसिद्धः Iṣṭasiddhi., Gaek. Edn., p. 347.

and

अतश्चायमनिर्वाच्या यद्यविद्या प्रसिध्यति ।

व्यचीचरमविद्यां तामत इष्टार्थसिद्धये ॥ *Ibid.*, VIII, 28.

1. Further objections to the *akhyāti* with regard to their inability to explain the unitary activity on the part of the person who rushes up to pick up the piece of shell which he mistook for silver, etc. can be had from the *Akhyātivāda* portion of *Tātparyatīkā* and *Bhāmātī*, T. P. H. Series, p. 30—

यदि अतथात्वेनाग्रहणादिति ब्रूयात्, स च प्रतिवक्तव्यः अथ तथात्वेनाग्रहणात् कस्मान्नोपेक्षेतेति । etc.

From these it seems that if Vimuktātman were asked which he would like more, Brahman or *avidyā* (*Māyā*), so far as priority of enquiry is concerned, he would certainly have voted in favour of the latter. For *avidyā*, though inferior to Brahman in all respects, is *iṣṭa* (liked) or even *iṣṭa-tara* (more liked) in the sense that it has to be got over for the realisation of the self. The very same idea seems to have been in Śaṅkarācārya's mind also when he began his sūtra-bhāṣya with

युष्मदस्मत्प्रत्ययगोचरयोः etc.

For *yuṣmat* (the concept of Thou) signifies all the phenomenal world (which is only *māyika*, illusory) and all that is different from Brahman. And according to the maxim '*abhyarhitam pūrvam*' the usage of the word *yuṣmat* in the very beginning of his master-piece serves to show that Śaṅkarācārya also had greater respect towards *māyā* than towards *Ātman* in the sense that the former has to be got over in order to realise *Ātman*. This has been well pointed out by our Professor, Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastriar in his note 'Abrahma-jijñāsā':

अयं च समीचीनः समाधिः श्रीशङ्कराचार्यैः अथातःशब्दार्थविचारात् पूर्वमेव अध्यासभाष्ये अब्रह्मस्वरूपनिरूपणमुखेन वेदान्तशास्त्रमुपक्रममाणैः युष्मत्प्रत्ययगोचरं वस्तुतो जघन्यमपि मुख्यमिव सादरमादिवाक्ये परामृशद्विरभिव्यञ्जितः शास्त्ररसिकैरास्वादयितुं युज्यते ।

—Journal of Madras University, Language Number VIII, 2, p. 2.

CHIDAMBARAM INSCRIPTION OF ACYUTADĒVA RĀYA.

BY

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Chidambaram.

This inscription of Acyutadēva Rāya of the third Dynasty of Vijayanagar is a bilingual record—in Sanskrit and Tamil, written in Grantha and Tamil script.¹ It refers to the grant of eighty-two villages towards the celebration of the annual car-festival of Naṭarāja and the construction of the northern Gōpuram at Chidambaram. It is found on the outer western wall of the second *prākāra*—called in inscriptions ‘Kulōttuṅga Śōḷaṇ Tirumālikai—enclosing the two shrines of Naṭarāja and Gōvindarāja. The first line is about three feet below the roof, and the last line about twelve feet from the ground-level of the *prākāra*. It consists of seventeen lines of which the first fourteen are in Sanskrit comprising forty-eight ślōkas in *anuṣṭup* and the rest in Tamil, and even in the Sanskrit part, a few Tamil words are mixed up in the names of the villages (like Meyyāṛṛūr) enumerated in the gift. The inscription is dated Śālivāhana (Śaka) 1451 expired, in the cyclic year Virōdhi in the month of Phālguni, Kṛṣṇapakṣa, Sunday, Pañcamī tithi,—probably March 20, A.D. 1530.

Ślōkas 7—10. (Line 3) define the boundaries of the sixty-four villages which were given for the celebration of the annual car-festival of Cidambara-mahēśa. They are said to be in Viranārāyaṇa Sīmā, in Vira Rājendra Bhayada vaḷanāḍu, a sub-division of Vaṣṭalapattu Cāvaḍi (called in Tamil, *Valudalam-pattu Cāvaḍi*)* included in Coḷamaṇḍala Rājya. The villages were

1. This is one of the nearly twenty inscriptions found in the Chidambaram temple which had not been previously copied by the Epigraphical Department. Most of them have since been copied.

* Valudalam-pattu is a village in Kuriñjippāḍi sub-district of S. Arcot District 58-(221).

bounded on the east by Puṭavūru—Śrī—Śolattapura, on the south by Pūrvadattiyu dhagdeśam, on the west by Aracharpattu and Kilaipattu, and on the north by Northern Araśūrpuṭṭu and Mēlaipattu.

Śloka 11-31 (Ll. 3-10) contain the names of the sixty-four villages whose revenues were granted by the king towards the annual celebration of the car-festival of Naṭarāja.

Śloka 32-34 (Ll. 10) define the boundaries of the eighteen villages which were granted for the construction of the northern Gōpuram and the *prākārās* of the Hēma Sabhā. They were to the east of Śrī-kunṭa-Maruhūr Sīmā, to the south of Tiruvali Sīmā, to the west of Kirvaḷūrpuṭṭu and to the north of the Kāvērī.

Śloka 34-41 (Ll. 10-12) contain the names of the eighteen villages.

Śloka 42-46 (Ll. 12-14) mention that the King Acyutēndra Mahārāja gave these villages to the Cidambara Mahēśa as *Sarvamānya* so as to last as long as the sun and the moon endure.

Śloka 47 and 48 mention a *tapasvin* called Payyadēva to whom and to whose disciples was granted the village of Aṭṭakuḍi, and the grant was written by Cidambareśa.

The Tamil part commencing at the end of line fourteen mentions that the villages situated in Vīranārāyaṇa Śīmai, Ammaiyaṭṭaṭṭu Vāṭṭattu Śīmai, were given away by the King for the construction of the northern Gōpuram and other sacred works (Tiruppaṇi) and those of Nāṅgūr Vāṭṭattu Śīmai to the car-festival of *kaṇakasabhaḥpati* (i.e. Naṭarāja), and that the gift was made at the request of Kṛṣṇa Rāya Nāyakar and that Sālva Daṇṇāyakar heard this prayer and obtained the royal sanction of Acyuta Dēva Rāya, and that the eighty-two villages were granted for three-thousand *pon* as *Sarvamānya* to God Cidambareśvara inclusive of all *Samudāyas*, viz., Kallaṇai, *ponṇiyuḍai*ppu, *āruvetṭu*, *arai-maṇai*p-pirakkum-paḷavari,—puduvai, *vetṭi*-vari, *iḍaitṭurai*, *ayam*, *aṇuppu*, *araśupēru* and *Kāṇiyḷar pēru*. The list of villages will be found in the Appendix.

It has now been well-established that there was a disputed succession at the time of the accession of Acyuta Rāya. As early as 1526, Kṛṣṇa Dēva, then ill, seems to have fixed the suc-

cession in favour of his brother, "Achetarao", as he had "no son of fit age for the throne" and as Acyuta was better fitted than any of the others. This decision, though acquiesced in by Rāma Rāya at the time, was later reversed soon after Kṛṣṇa Rāya's death by his championing the cause of Kṛṣṇa Rāya's child, then eighteen months old according to Nuniz. And one of the strongest supporters of Rāma Rāya in this struggle for the throne was Sāḷuva Nāyaka or Sāḷuva Vīra Naraśiṅga Nāyaka Sāḷuva Daṇṇāyakar alias Cellappa—called Sal(u)vany by Nuniz—. "Governor of the Cōḷa country and Lord of Charamaodel, Nega-patao, Tangor, Boungain, Dapatao, Trueguel, and Caullium." Perhaps it is this chief that is the executor of the grant referred to in line 16 as Sāḷuva Daṇṇāyaka.¹

Two Kāñcīpuram inscriptions of Acyuta Rāya mention the reduction of his rivals and the unruly vassals and his coronation and the performance of some of the *mahādānas* both in the Kāmākṣī and Varadarāja shrines.²

He made a gift of a number of villages on the occasion of his coronation and directed Sāḷuva Nāyaka to assign the villages *equally* between Varadarāja and Ekāmranātha shrines, and it is further mentioned that as Sāḷuva Nāyaka gave more to Ekāmranātha, he had them equalised by redistribution³ and thus he evinced a spirit of toleration and strict impartiality. The present inscription refers to his gifts to Naṭarāja while according to another local inscription⁴ it is said that Acyuta in Śaka 1461 (10 years later) ordered that the image of Gōvindarāja Perumāl at Perumparrappuliyūr (in Vaḷudalampaṭṭu cāvaḍi, a sub-division of Veṇṇaiyūr nāḍu, in Rājādhirāja Vaḷanāḍu) be set up according to the ritual of the Vaikhānasa Sūtra, and thus the two Chidambaram records confirm the inference drawn from his two Kāñcīpuram inscriptions about his religious impartiality.

From the inscriptions already published, we know that the northern Gōpuram of Chidambaram was built by Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāja, Acyuta's predecessor. There are three inscriptions of

1. For a discussion of the disputed succession in the early years of Acyuta, refer to Chapters I & II of "The Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara" by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

2. Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900 S. I. I. VII, Nos. 52 and 53.

3. 584 of 1919.

4. 272 of 1913.

Kṛṣṇa Rāya which refer to his building of the northern Gōpuram. One of them is in Telugu and the others in Tamil and Grantha.¹

It must be remarked here that the building of the *Gōpuram* should be construed only as that of the *superstructure*. The basement up to the first of the seven tiers has all the features of a Cōḷa structure, as in the eastern and western Gōpurams. All the stone-sculptures in the niches all round the basements are Cōḷa images and a few of them have been inserted with difficulty into the old niches at the time of the repair. Hence Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya's claim of the building of the northern Gōpuram of Chidambaram needs to be understood to apply only to the superstructure; and further, the inscription under discussion leads us to the conclusion that the renovation of this Gōpuram was started by Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya and completed by Acyūta Dēva Rāya.

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION.

नमस्तुङ्गशिरश्चुम्बिचन्द्रचामरचारवे ।
 त्रैलोक्यनगरारम्भमूलस्तम्भाय शम्भवे ॥ १ ॥
 शकाब्दे शालिवाहस्य सहस्रेण चतुश्शतैः ।
 एकपञ्चाशताशापि गणानां गमिते क्रमात् ॥ २ ॥
 विरोधिवत्सरे मासि फाल्गुने भानुवासरे ।
 कृष्णपक्षे चन्द्रलक्षे पुण्यायां पञ्चमीतिथौ ॥ ३ ॥
 तुङ्गभद्रापगातीरे श्रीविरूपाक्षसन्निधौ ।
 कृत्यतो गिरिकन्या वा नित्यतोषवि(धा)यिनः ॥ ४ ॥
 स्तुत्यतो यति तृणस्य नृत्यतो हेमसंसदि ।
 इदंपरतया योगी कदम्बरचितः ॥ ५ ॥
 चिदम्बरमहेशस्य पदं परमुपेयुषः ।
 अशेषनयनानन्ददायिने मुक्तिदायिने ॥ ६ ॥
 रथोत्सवाय रम्याय महते प्रतिवत्सरम् ।
 चोळमण्डलराज्ये च वन्तलं पट्टुचावटौ ॥ ७ ॥
 विख्याते वीरराजेन्द्रभयदेवळनाडुके ।
 वीरनारायणाख्यायां सीमायां चेतुतस्थितम् ॥ ८ ॥

प्रागाशाः पुटवूरुश्री चोळत्तपुरतश्रितम् ।
 पूर्वदत्तायुदग्देशो दक्षिणां दिशमाश्रितम् ॥ ९ ॥
 पश्चिमामरशूर्पत्तु किलैप्यत्तोदिशं श्रितम् ।
 उत्तरामरशूर्पत्तुमेलैपत्तोदिशम् श्रितम् ॥ १० ॥
 विळक्कूरुमेडुम्बूरुवन्नियूमैयूरुगम् ।
 मुकैयूरुकोडियालाम्याम् शिरुहावूरुणांचितम् ॥ ११ ॥
 मेय्याम् ^{॥ ११ ॥} तेन्मुहैयूरु श्रीमूलस्थानकैर्युतम् ।
 वीराणनत्तराजेन्द्र चोळनक्ळरुसंयुतम् ॥ १२ ॥
 कुळित्तेवन्कुटीपु ^{॥ १२ ॥} नेलवाशत् ग्रामकैर्युतम् ।
 राजकेशरीनक्ळरु तोरुप्पाटि श(ष)णान्वितम् ॥ १३ ॥
 रुद्रशोलैकुळक्कुट्यो विलान्त्यातिकमेडुकम् ।
 अटन्तकोळरी नल्ळरि राधानल्ळरुसंयुतम् ॥ १४ ॥
 पूर्वेत्र चोळनल्ळरु ग्रामकेणापि संयुतम् ।
 पणैः पट्टन्वितं लक्ष्मीकुटिग्रामेण संयुतम् ॥ १५ ॥
 कल्लियूरन्वितं कोत्तवाशत् ग्रामसमन्वितम् ।
 शि ^{॥ १५ ॥} लवाटकैशिदे विनल्ळर्म्यां समन्वितम् ॥ १६ ॥
 श्रीमदुत्तमचोळेन्द्रनल्ळर्ग्रामेण संयुतम् ।
 रुयातेतिरिलिचोळेन्द्र नल्ळर्ग्रामकसंयुतम् ॥ १७ ॥
 जननाध(थ)क्त्वनल्ळराक्य(रुय)ग्रामेण संयुतम् ।
 युक्तं कलिकटं तश्चिचोळनल्ळरुणापि च ॥ १८ ॥
 युक्तं कलैनेडुम्बूरुग्रामकेण महीयसा ।
 युक्तं वटमुकै(खै)यूरुनाम्ना ग्रामेण भास्वतः ॥ १९ ॥
 युक्तं नयतराद्येन मङ्गलेन च राजता ।
 नल्ळरुणान्वितं कन्तकुमारोपपदेन च ॥ २० ॥
 नल्ळरुणा समायुक्तं भूपुरान्तपदादिना ।
 युक्तं विरुतराजेन्द्र भयङ्करपदादिना ॥ २१ ॥
 नल्ळरुणा सदा सर्वसस्यसंपद्विशोभिना ।
 वरोलक्रययवन्तश्रीचोळनल्ळरुसंयुतम् ॥ २२ ॥
 वीरनारायणाख्यातनल्ळर्ग्रामिवरश्चतम् ।
 कावेर्युत्तरतीरे च पुण्ये विरचितस्थितिम् ॥ २३ ॥

कन्तमङ्गलनाम्नापि ग्रामकेण समन्वितम् ।
 मङ्गैनल्लरुणा चापि मरुत्तूग्रामकेण च ॥ २४ ॥
 काटात् कुटिनाप्यागित्कुटिनापि च संयुतम् ।
 कुर्वाणात्कुटिनाम्ना च ग्रामकेण समन्वितम् ॥ २५ ॥
 कलित्कुट्याह्वयेनापि ग्रामवर्येण संयुतम् ।
 कणक्कप्पट्टकैनान्ना ग्रामकेण समन्वितम् ॥ २६ ॥
 इळमङ्गलनाम्ना च ग्रामवर्येण संयुतम् ।
 शान्तः पुत्तूरुणा चापि कदिरामङ्गलेन च ॥ २७ ॥
 पेरुमङ्गलकेनापि मणिप्प क्केन चान्वितम् ।
 आन्तैमङ्गलनाम्ना च ग्रामकेण समन्वितम् ॥ २८ ॥
 इडैक्कुडियुतं चोळचक्रनल्लरुसंयुतम् ।
 कुमारमङ्गलोपेतम् वरहूकुटिनान्वितम् ॥ २९ ॥
 युक्तं कन्तणंपुत्तूर्ग्रामकेण महीयसा ।
 तिन्निलैक्कुडिनाम्ना च ग्रामवर्येण संयुतम् ॥ ३० ॥
 नेडुंचेर्यन्वितम् कुण्टक्षेत्रेणापि समन्वितम् ।
 ग्रामवर्यन्तमप्यम्मयप्यन् वट्टमूरुश्रियम् ॥ ३१ ॥
 उदीच्यगोपुरोत्तुङ्गप्राकारालयनिर्मितौ ।
 श्रीकुण्टमुरुकूर्सीन्नाः प्राचीमाशामुपाश्रितम् ॥ ३२ ॥
 दक्षिणां तिरुवाल्याक्यसीमायां दिशमाश्रितम् ।
 कीर्क्कप्पुत्तकादाशां पश्चिमाम् समुपाश्रितम् ॥ ३३ ॥
 कवेरकन्यातीरा उत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितम् ।
 कुलशेखरनल्लरुमुळ्यामुडसंयुतम् ॥ ३४ ॥
 ओट्टिमैरान्वितम् तुत्तं वळ्किनेल्लरुसंयुतम् ।
 चोळपाण्डियनल्लरुवडकट्टलैसंयुतम् ॥ ३५ ॥
 संयुतं गङ्गैकोण्डचोळनल्लरुणापि च ।
 मधुरान्तकनल्लरु(ॐ) नाम्ना ग्रामेण संयुतम् ॥ ३६ ॥
 संयुतं राजराजश्री ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ग्रामकेण च ।
 वीरनारायणश्रीमन् नेल्लर्ग्रामसंयुतम् ॥ ३७ ॥
 वरारुमो(ॐ)दिॐश्रीः ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ग्रामसंयुतम् ।
 संयुतम् जननाथश्रीनल्लर्ग्रामवर्येण च ॥ ३८ ॥

श्रीत्रिविक्रमचोळेन्द्रनल्लरुग्रामसंयुतम् ।
 ॐ करै देवनाथश्रीनल्लरुग्रामसंयुतम् ॥ ३९ ॥
 राजनारायणख्यात नल्लरुग्रामसंयुतम् ।
 तेनाप्युत्तमचोळेन्द्र नल्लरुग्रामसंयुतम् ॥ ४० ॥
 श्रीत्रिविक्रमचोळेन्द्र नल्लरुग्रामसंयुतम् ।
 ग्रामन्तमपि नामेरु वट्टनामानमुत्तमम् ॥ ४१ ॥
 सर्वमान्यश्चतुस्सीमैः संयुतश्च समं ततः ।
 निधिनिक्षेपपाषाण सिद्धिसाध्यजलान्वितः ॥ ४२ ॥
 अक्षीव्यागामसंयुक्तं समर्पयातिभूरुहम् ।
 वापीकूपतटाकैश्च कच्चैनापि समन्वितम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 चिदम्बरमहेशेन भोग्यमाचन्द्रतारकम् ।
 परितः प्रयतैः स्निग्धैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः ॥ ४४ ॥
 विविधैः विबुधैः श्रौतः पथिकैः अधिकैर्गिरिः ।
 अच्युतेन्द्रमहाराजो माननीयो मनस्विनाम् ॥ ४५ ॥
 सहिपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा ।
 प्राकारमण्टपोदिव्यगोपुरादिक्रियेशिता ॥ ४६ ॥
 पथ्यदेव इति ख्यात नामकस्य तपस्विनः ।
 तस्य शिष्यप्रशिष्याणां कल्पिताचन्द्रतारकम् ॥ ४७ ॥
 चन्ताप्यट्टकुटीं शुल्कमुख्या सर्वे धनोदया ।
 भोग्य चिदम्बरेशेन लिख्यन्ते देशभाषया ॥ ४८ ॥

[Tamil part].

Kallanai ponniyuḍaiḍippu aruvettu ari-maṇaip-pirakkum-pala-
 vaṛi puduvaṛi veṭṭivaṛi iḍaitturai āyam aṇuppu araṣuperu kāṇi-
 yaḷarperu śakala Samudāyam-ulpaḍa Sarvamāṇṇiyamahā-
 cidambareśvaranukku ratōtsvattirkku vīranārāyaṇa Śimaiyum
 ammaiappaṇ vaṭṭattuccimaiyum ācandrārkam vaḍakku Gōpuram
 mudalāṇa pala tiruppanikkum nāṅgūr vaṭṭattuccīmai yācandrār-
 kam iṇaiyili Kaṇakasapāpati-taṇakku ratōtsava naḍattaven reṇṇi
 yivar-kiṟṣṇarāya nāyakkar aṇpittīḍa kuḍi-taṅgi utteśittup-paniḍai
 mahēśvara-raiyuñ-dēvap-pama-raśiyan taṇi-varikkai paṇṇiyuñ-
 ganumadi-pērru naḷiṭṭup-paṭṭaṇamaha taṇ palam-palippam,
 aṇiperu Śāḷuvanāyakar kēṭṭu accuta dēva-rāyaṛkku arikkaiyarp-
 paṇṇi mūvāyiram ponṇukku tirumaccimaiyai Śērkaṇṇai tiruk-
 kīrama-menpatti-reṇḍatavum paṇ mahēśvara rakṣaiyahap-padindu

candiradittavarai lōha-rakṣai-padi-tiru-viḷā naḍattiḍumē a pan mahēśvara-rakṣai.

LIST OF VILLAGES.

1. Viḷakkūr. (Viḷattūr?)
2. Neḍumbūr. (cdm.)
3. Vanniyyūr (cdm.)
4. Maiyūr. (Vaiyūr?—71 (114 cdm.)
5. Mukaiyūr. (35—174 cdm.)
6. Koḍiyālam. (23—170 cdm.)
7. Siṟukāvūr. (32—162 Koma.)
8. Meyyarrūr. (Meyāttūr 21—187 Koma.)
9. Ten-muhaiyūr. (No. 5).
10. Śrī-mūlasthānam. (Tiru-mūlasthānam 66—232 Mannar.)
11. Virāṇa-natta-Rājēndra-cōḷa Nallūr. (Virāṇanallūr?
80—265 Mannar.)
12. Kulittēvankuḍi. (Tevankuḍi 8—157 Mannar.)
13. Puttūr. (51—285 Mannar.)
14. Nelavāśal. (Neyvāśal? 46 {276 Mannar.)
15. Rājakēsarinnallūr.
16. Toṟupṇāḍi. (Toṟappaḍi 11—169 under Esnai cdm.)
17. Rudraśōḷai. (35—271 Mannar.)
18. Kuḷakkuḍi.
19. Vilantiyātika-mēḍu.
20. Adanthakōḷari-nallūr.
21. Rātha-nallūr, 52 (179)—Mannar.
22. Pūrvetṭa-Śōḷa-nallūr.
23. Paṇṇaiṇṇāḍi. (41—163 cdm.)
24. Lakṣmikuḍi. (34—182 Mannar.)
25. Kalliyūr. (Kaliyamalai? 14 (290) Mannar.)
26. Kōttavāśal. (25—18 Mannar.)
27. Śirunelvāḍai.
28. Śrīdevinnallūr.
29. Śrīmat-uttama Śōḷēndranallūr. (Uttama Śōḷamaṅga-
lam?)
30. Edirili Śōḷēndranallūr.
31. Jananāthaka (tva) nallūr.
32. Kalikadinda-Śrī-Śōḷa-nallūr. (Kalikaḍandan).
33. Kalai-naḍumbūr. (Kil-neḍumbūr?)
34. Vaḍamukkaiyūr. (No. 5 & 9).
35. Nayata Rājendramaṅgalam.
36. Rājatānallūr.

37. Kandakumāranallūr.
38. Bhūpurāntakanallūr.
39. Virudha Rājendra—Bhayānkaranallūr.
40. Varōlagiri-yavanda Śrī Soḷa-nallūr.
41. Vīranārāyaṇa Nallūr.
42. *Kaṇḍa-maṅgalam.*
43. *Maṅgai-nellūr.* (Maṅganallūr).
44. Maruttūr.
45. Kādātkuḍi.
46. *Attikkūḍi.*
47. *Kurvāṇatkuḍi* (Kurumaṇakkūḍi).
48. Kalitkuḍi.
49. Kaṇakkarṇpattū.
50. Iḷamaṅgalam.
51. Śandapputtūr.
52. *Kadivāmaṅgalam.*
53. *Perumaṅgalam.*
54. Maṇṇipallam.
55. Āndaimaṅgalam.
56. Iḍaikkūḍi.
57. Śōḷakkaranallūr.
58. Kumāramaṅgalam.
59. Varahūkuḍi.
60. Kandanaputtūr.
61. *Tenṇilaikkūḍi.*
62. Neduñjēri.
63. Kuṇḍakṣētram.
64. *Ammayappaṇ Vattamūr*, (Ammayappaṇpettai?) (for the construction of the Northern Gopuram).
65. Kulāśekharanallūr.
66. Muḷḷiyūr.
67. *Muṭṭam*, (on the Coleroon.) 43—224 Mannar.
68. Oṭṭimēru.
69. Tutta-valli-nellūr.
70. Śōḷa-pāṇḍya-nallūr.
71. Vaḍa-katṭalai.
72. *Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Śōḷa-nallūr*, (Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Śōḷapuram?)
73. *Madhurāntaka-nallūr*, 29 (156).
74. Rāja Rāja Śrīnallūr.
75. Vīra nārāyaṇa Śrīmaṇṇ nallūr.

- 76.. *Arumaḷi-dēva-śrī-nallūr*, (*Arumolidevan?*) 5—55 Porto Novo.
77. Jananātha Śrī-nallūr.
78. Śrī Tirivikrama Sōḷa nallūr.
79. Teṅkarai-devanātha Śrīnallūr.
80. Rāja-nārāyaṇa (tekiyatha) nallūr.
81. Uttama-Śōḷendra-nallūr.
82. Śrī-Trivikrama-Śōḷa-nallūr.

The villages in italics are those which can be identified with modern villages.

No. 25.—Kalliyūr may be the same as Kalliyūrmūlai referred to in the Tiruvendipuram record of Rājarāja III as a place sacked by the Hoyśālas in their campaign against Kōpperuñjiṅga. Kaliyamalai may be a corrupt form of Kalliyūrmūlai. It is on the bank of the Vīraṇam tank and near Eḷḷeri, the other village mentioned in the same record.

cdm.=Chidambaram Sub-dist.

Porto.=Porto Novo „

Mannar.=Mannargudi „

Koma.=Komaratchi „

The numbers after each village represent the serial number and old Survey numbers according to the List of Names of villages and their hamlets in South Arcot District.

LECTURE ON 'RĀMO DVIRNĀBHIBHĀṢATE',
(RĀMA SPEAKS NOT TWICE)

BY

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

Mr. Chairman and Friends,

I am, indeed, thankful to the authorities of the Sanskrit Academy for affording me an opportunity to place the humble offering of my heart at the feet of the greatest national poet of India. It is a happy coincidence that I am privileged to do so to-day under the immediate guidance of you, Sir, who bear the thrice-blessed name of Śrī Rāma and for whose scholarship and intellectual calibre we here have great regard. Friends, this is a most sacred and auspicious day not only for all pious Hindus but for all students and lovers of literature. It is but fitting that we should on this day pay our tribute of profound admiration, aesthetic ecstasy and religious devotion, to the immortal bard of India who sang the eternal glories of Śrī Rāmacandra, in verses of dulcet symphony and magnetic poetic appeal. तन्त्रीलयसमन्वितम्, सर्वश्रुतिमनोहरम्, परं कवीनाम् आधारम् ॥

For, Vālmiki, alone among the world's greatest poets, achieved the almost impossible task of projecting on the canvas of time the picture of the hero of his poem and spiritualising the name Rāma into a Tārakamantra for the salvation of mankind. While Achilles of Homer is transfixed in fable, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa is God incarnate to millions of our countrymen. It is mainly due to the poetic genius of Vālmiki that the Rāmātāpanī Upaniṣad declared in clear terms तारकं दीर्घानलं बिन्दुपूर्वकं पुनर्मायनमः ।

Kālidāsa, himself one of the world's greatest poets and an ardent admirer and follower of Vālmiki, suggests in his characteristic covert poetic manner that the Rāmanāma, in the spiritual plane is identical with the Praṇavamāntra.

राम इत्यभिरामेण वपुषा तस्य चोदितः ।

नामधेयम् ऋषिश्चक्रे जगत्प्रथममङ्गलम् ॥

* Delivered before the Sanskrit Academy, Madras, on the occasion of the Vālmiki Day Celebration, April, 1938.

“The great seer induced by his attractive figure named him Rāma which is really the foremost Maṅgala of the Universe (Oṅkāra). That is why Vasiṣṭha in the Śloka is not referred to by name but is appropriately styled ‘Ṛṣi’—a seer of Mantras. Saint Tyāgarāja, an intense devotee of Rāma, in one of his musical compositions, expounds the nature of the Rāma-Mantra thus:—

శివమంత్రమునకు మాజీవము మాధవమంత్రమునకు రాజీవము ఈవివరము తెలిసిన
ఘనులకు హృదయేదా ||¹

“The two letters Rā and Ma are each taken from the two great Mantras of Namō Nārāyaṇāya and Nāmaḥ Śivāya”. The Muslim Saint Kabir, in his poems, gave expression to his mystic experience of the spiritual efficacy of the Rāma-Mantra and the great Mahratta Saint and patriot, Samarthā Rāmdās, fired the great Śivāji to heroic deeds and noble endeavours by giving him the Upadeśa of the Rāma-Mantra. The Tamil poet in one of his magnificent outpourings sang thus:—

నన్మెయ్యమ్ செల్వమ్మమ్ నాన్రు నల్కుమే

తినన్మెయ్యమ్ బావమ్మమ్ సిதைన్తు తేత్యుమే

శన్మమ్మమ్ మరణమ్మ మిన్ఱి తీర్తుమే

తిమ్మె రామవెన్ఱి నిరన్డె మ్రుత్తిన్ఱెల్.

and Tulsidās proclaimed in clear tones and broadcasted throughout the length and breadth of Northern India the words “Rāmnām Satya he” which, even to this day in Benares, are uttered by the pall-bearers to soothe the dull cold ear of Death.

Friends, the Rāmāyaṇa has a never-waning charm and touches the innermost chords of our being. He who reads the Ādikāvya, with taste, culture and devotion, cannot help deriving all through life aesthetic joy and moral inspiration from its cryptic, exquisite and chiselled phrases. The aching heart will find consolation in their soothing messages, and the sensitive conscience its moral strength, and the searching intellect its spiritual illumination.

The Sanskrit Academy therefore did a great service when, in 1935, it collected some of these beautiful sentences and phrases and published the Rāmāyaṇa Diary. On looking into it at page, February 7th, you will read the sentence रामो द्विर्नाभिमाषते ।

1. శివమన్త్రమునకు మాజీవము మాధవమన్త్రమునకు రాజీవము ఐవివరము తెలిసిన
ఘనులకు ప్రోక్షేదా ||

In what a simple and artless language it is couched, yet fit to point the moral and adorn a tale! It has got an aphoristic flair. It is the end of a Śloka in chapter 18 of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa which, on the first cursory reading, appears an ordinary verse with no striking merit or significance. Yet, read with some care and imagination, one realises it forms the prelude to the story of Rāma's great renunciation and furnishes the key to the true understanding of the tragedy of heroic sacrifice and suffering. The words are put by the poet in the mouth of Rāma himself and hence have a profound significance not only as a frank revelation by the great hero and superman himself of his true spirit, but also as conveying a high ethical ideal for common humanity. They occur at the beginning of a great crisis. Invited to the presence of the King, his father, on the morning of the day ordained for his Abhiṣeka, Rāma enters his father's bedchamber and, to his surprise, finds the King, his face darkened with grief, seated with Kaikeyī. On seeing him, the King groaned "Rāma" and, thereafter with eyes full of tears, was unable to look at him or speak to him. Having never before seen the King, his father, in that sad plight, naturally Rāma, in great confusion and fear, eagerly enquired the reason for it. The King answered not but Kaikeyī spoke instead. She naively told him that the King had given her a boon and finding himself caught in a difficult situation was unable to speak to Rāma for fear of him. If Rāma was prepared to abide, she added, by what the King said good or bad and if it should be that the King's words should not become futile, she was prepared to tell him, though the King might never do so. Thus, taunted by her, with the possibility of his disobeying or not paying heed to the words of his father, Rāma, anxious to remove her doubts and please her, addressed these words:—

अहो धिङ्मनाहंसे देवि वक्तुं मामीदृशं वचः ।

अहं हि वचनाद्राज्ञः पतेयमपि पावके ॥

भक्षयेयं विषं तीक्ष्णं मज्जेयमपि चार्णवे ।

नियुक्तो गुरुणा पित्रा नृपेण च हितेन च ॥

तद्ब्रूहि वचनं देवि राज्ञो यदभिकाङ्क्षितम् ।

करिष्ये प्रतिजाने च रामो द्विर्नाभिभाषते ॥ Ayodhyā., 18, 28-30.

"It is most unfortunate that you should speak thus to me. If the King, my father directs, I am ready to fall into the fire or to drink virulent poison or be drowned in the sea. Tell me,

lady, therefore what the King desires. I shall do it, I promise, Rāma speaks not twice" It is then, Kaikeyī revealed to Rāma the substance of the two boons promised by her husband, the coronation of Bharata in his stead and Rāma's banishment into the Daṇḍaka forest for fourteen long years. Before narrating what Kaikeyī said, the poet, true artist that he is, interposes the following verse:—

तमार्जवसमायुक्तमनार्या सत्यवादिनम् ।

उवाच रामं कैकेयी वचनं शृशदारुणम् ॥ Ayodhyā., 18, 31.

which echoes, as it were, the feelings of the reader. Poor Rāma, when he uttered these words, could have little suspected to what extreme dangers he was subjecting himself.

Students of Indian literature know what a profound impression this sentence रामो द्विर्नाभिभाषते has made on the minds of the scholars and readers of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, which closely follows the narrative as found in the Rāmāyaṇa but uses different language, at this place reiterates this sentence in the following verse:—

अतः करोमि तत् सर्वं यन्मामाह पिता मम ।

सत्यं सत्यं करोम्येव रामो द्विर्नाभिभाषते ॥

which suggests to us the meaning to be given to the expression, in its view. The Mahānāṭaka—a work whose authorship is not known but is ascribed by tradition to Hanumān—weaves a whole Śloka out of this expression in which the other pādas are of the same pattern and hit beautifully the similar fundamental aspects of Rāma's character. The verse runs thus:

द्विर्देदाति न चार्थिभ्यो द्विस्स्थापयति नाश्रितान् ।

द्विशराज्ञैव सन्धत्ते रामो द्विर्नाभिभाषते ॥

This has found its way into the anthology Subhāṣitaratna-bhāṇḍāgāra also. The Saint Tyāgarāja, a great devotee of Rāma, in one of his beautiful Telugu musical compositions echoes it but puts the idea in the positive form.

ఒక మాట ఒక బాణము ఒక పల్లవి ప్రభు డేవననా ॥

ఒక చిత్తము గలవాడే ఒక నాడును మరవకనే ॥¹

Now analysing with some care the full implications and suggestions of this expression, we may say that three main ideas are

1. ओक माट ओक बाणमु ओकपत्रितुडेमनसा ।

ओक चित्तमु गलवाडे ओक नाडुनु मरवकवे ॥

conveyed to our mind. In the context it may mean that Rāma will never say nay to what his father directs. In colloquial parlance we often say *அவன் சொல்லுகிறதற்கு இரண்டு சொல்ல மாட்டேன்*, and the same popular idiom may be said to be used here by the poet. The second idea is, it is in the nature of Rāma never to make a pronouncement and then to detract from it. Once he makes it, he is prepared to follow it up by direct action to the fullest extent to which his utterance leads one to expect. In this sense, he will not speak of it again and has no need to do so. It is this idea that is suggested by the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa and by the Mahānāṭaka and by Saint Tyāgarāja. The third idea is that Rāma speaks direct and straight from his heart with a full knowledge of the consequences of what he says. He does not camouflage or indulge in diplomatic language, never equivocates or speaks with mental reservations. He speaks out clearly and forcibly his inmost thoughts and conveys the full implications to the hearer and does not attempt later, when the time for action comes, to interpret his utterance in a manner different from what the language conveyed to the hearer at the time and justify himself by pleading that the circumstances in which the words were spoken were different. Commenting on this expression Tilaka says, "What is said, is said, I shall not revert to this a second time by urging in justification the non-existing circumstances". Rāghava Śiromani, another commentator annotates thus: "I shall not say anything contrary to what I have promised". Govindarāja, however, gives quite a different meaning in which the expression has no separate significance at all. According to him, the purport is "without promising, I shall never say it again". The occasion for saying it again is only for emphasising the promise. The commentator, Maheśvara Tirtha, agrees more or less with Tilaka. Now we can well realise what an intimate bearing the ideas conveyed by this expression have on the moral ideal to be kept in view by us in our lives. Few can lay their hands on their hearts and say boldly like Rāma "I speak not a second time". In the case of every one of us, occasions arise when we are tested by what we have said, praised or blamed as the case may be for following up or not by action what we promise or declare, without any fear of consequence and regardless of any harm or prejudice to ourselves. Occasions may also arise when we shall be tempted to plead excuses or attempt justification of altered circumstances or interpret what

we have said by giving a different meaning and saying "this is what I really meant" or to use diplomatic language and to escape from doing the duty arising in the situation. It is then that we shall have need to remember this sentence. As citizens, as members of society, of an enlightened public, as voters or candidates in elections and in our many social, domestic, economic or political relations we shall have to stand the trial of this test. Those who occupy high places as leaders of thought, of political parties, as statesmen, as rulers or ministers are subjected at the bar of public opinion to this test in a much greater degree. It is the successful pursuit of the ideal of 'Rāmo dvirnābhibhāṣate' that has endeared Gandhiji to all and earned for him the unique appellation of Mahātmā. Statesmen at the helm of affairs in modern states and great political leaders are showing much less regard for this ideal and modern international morality seems to ignore it altogether. Even the much-maligned Kauṭilya of ancient India in his Arthaśāstra emphasises the value of the spoken word in international relations. But now 'dictators' and war-lords defy the sanctity of it openly and earn glory and reputation. The progress of civilisation and culture and the complicated conditions and requirements of modern society render it still more difficult to practise this ancient virtue of नदिर्भाषणं and it is an irony of things that the less cultured and unsophisticated minds are able to achieve success in a greater measure.

But in considering the application of high ethical ideals to the conduct of men it has to be borne in mind that the moral world is not governed by abstract and absolute standards unrelated to the time, place, conditions and circumstances in which the moral duty arises and unqualified by conflicting and overriding considerations which emerge out of the particular situation in which an individual may be placed. Though Patañjali in his Yoga Sūtras, Chapter II, Sūtra 31,

जातिदेशकालसमयानवच्छिन्नाः सार्वभौमाः महाव्रतम् ।

refers to this absolute ideal as Mahāvratā and Sārvabhauma, the Vyāsa Bhāṣya on this Sūtra makes it clear that this Mahāvratā is intended for the initiated few and is not of general application. The Hindu sages and moralists have always been keenly alive to the limitations of practical life and the Dharma Śāstras emphasize only the relative standard. जातिदेशकालसमयानवच्छिन्नधर्माः.

For example, while Manu applauds the glorious ideal of speaking the truth, he yet recognises the limitations of it. According to him, it is not incumbent upon a person to speak the unpleasant truth

सत्यं ब्रूयात् प्रियं ब्रूयात् न ब्रूयात् सत्यमप्रियम् । Manu, IV, 138.

Courtesy and gentlemanliness and the smooth working of society require that we should not always speak out what we feel. The great Śaṅkara recognises this necessity in his commentary on the text of the Praśna Upaniṣad. तेषामसौ विरजो ब्रह्मलोकः नयेषु जिह्ममनृतं न माया in the following

यथा गृहस्थानाम् अनेकविरुद्धसंव्यवहारप्रयोजनवत्त्वात् जिह्मवश्यंभावि यथा च गृहस्थानां क्रीडादिनिमित्तमनृतमवर्जनीयम् ॥

A famous English writer has said "it is society that makes us liars." The Mahābhārata Ādi Parvan refers to five exceptions wherein we commit no sin by falsehood, in the following verse:—

न नर्मयुक्तं वचनं हिनस्ति न स्त्रीषु राजन् न विवाहकाले ।

प्राणात्यये सर्वधनापहारे पञ्चानृतान्यादुरपातकानि ॥

The principle underlying these exceptions has been explained in another place in the Śānti Parvan by Śrī Kṛṣṇa in this way: It is of supreme importance that Dharma must be maintained and the welfare and happiness of the greatest number achieved, and hence even falsehood uttered for the sake of upholding Dharma and for the maintenance of the welfare and stability of society is no falsehood. In illustration of the principle, he refers to the story of the Brāhmin Kauśika who lived in a place outside a village, having taken the vow of speaking the truth and nothing but truth at all times and at all hazards. Once, a good traveller afraid of the pursuit of high-way men concealed himself in a bush nearby and Kauśika knew it. The highway men in search of him accosted Kauśika and asked him where the traveller was. Kauśika in fulfilment of his vow informed the robbers of the traveller's hiding place. Speaking the truth in this situation is not to be applauded at all but is even reprehensible. Kṛṣṇa says:—

अहिंसार्थं च भूतानां धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ।

प्रभवार्थं च भूतानां धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ॥

यस्मात् प्रभवसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ।

धारणात् धर्म इत्याहुः धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः ॥

यस्मात् धारणसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ।

Karṇaparva, 77, 57-59 (Southern Recension)

तस्मात् धर्मार्थमनृतमुक्त्वा नानृतवाग्भवेत् ॥ Do. 77, 66.

तेनाधर्मेण महता वाग्दुरुक्तेन कौशिकः ।

गतः सुकष्टं निरयं धर्मसूक्ष्मेष्वतत्त्ववित् ॥ Do. 77, 52.

Similarly, in regard to the absolute Ahimsā ideal, the limitations are well recognised. Manu says:—

गुरुं वा बालवृद्धौ वा ब्राह्मणं वा बहुश्रुतम् ।

आततायिनमायान्तं हन्यादेवाविचारयन् ॥ Manu, VIII, 350.

It is argued by him that the killer does not incur the sin of killing but the villain is killed by his own unrighteousness.

Even under our modern criminal law, the right of self-defence within limitations is accepted. On the principle of Svadharma, the killing of fish is permitted for the fishermen and of animals for the hunters in the forest and war for a Kṣātriya. On medical grounds, to save the life of the mother, the child has to be sacrificed.

So also, as regards the duty to obey and serve our parents, there are well known exceptions. If what the parent directs is unrighteous, there is no such duty. It is said in the Rāmāyaṇa

गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः ॥

उत्पथं प्रतिपन्नस्य कार्यं भवति शासनम् ॥ Ayodhyā, 21, 13.

In modern days, the call of service to our motherland may override one's duty to one's parents. A young man having the patriotic urge may have joined the non-cooperation movement in disobedience of the wishes or directions of his father.

It is the duty of a king even to punish his own father if he is guilty of any crime, and Manu declares "May he be a father or a preceptor or a friend or a son or a priest, may she be a mother or wife, if he has not behaved according to his own duties, he is not unpunishable for the king."

पिताचार्यः सुहृन्माता भार्या पुत्रः पुरोहितः ।

नादण्ड्यो नाम राज्ञोऽस्ति यः स्वधर्मे न तिष्ठति ॥ Manu, VIII, 335.

And acting on this principle king Sagara of the Sūrya Vamśa and an ancestor of Rāma, banished his son for crimes committed by him.

From the foregoing, let nobody run away with the impression that the high ideals of speaking the truth or of Ahimsā have been lowered in our country. The charge was levelled by Lord Curzon when he was Viceroy of India that the ideal of truth was not so high in India as in the West. But the land on whose soil the tragedy of Hariścandra was enacted need not fear comparison with the rest of the world. Nor need the country which has in modern times produced the greatest apostle of non-violence and truth be afraid of the charge of lowering the standard. I remember during the days when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were in the making, Mr. Lionel Curtis defended himself against the charge of having broken the promise of keeping the secret of the diarchy proposals by stating that he did so in the interests of the country. There is also another well-known head of exceptions recognised by the Dharma Śāstras, namely Āpaddharma, in times of distress or difficulty or necessity. The general principle is recognised that if the strict adherence to the absolute standard will be productive of harm or will violate other equally important standards of duty, then escape from strict adherence to the absolute ideal is desirable and is permitted. The story is told in the Mahābhārata Kārṇa Parva that Yudhiṣṭhira hit by the arrows of Kārṇa upbraided Arjuna for not killing him in battle and asked him to give up his Gāṇḍīva to Kṛṣṇa. Arjuna at once took his sword to kill his brother. When Kṛṣṇa asked him the reason for this hasty and sinful step, Arjuna informed him that he had made a vow in the days of his youth that whoever insulted him by asking him to give up his Gāṇḍīva, should be at once killed by him and that he was bound to fulfil this vow. Then Kṛṣṇa vehemently dissuaded him, because, in fulfilling this vow he would be guilty of the heinous sin of fratricide. Thus we see the difficulty of determining the propriety of a particular course of action becomes great. Hence the Mahābhārata says:—सूक्ष्मा गतिर्हि धर्मस्य ॥

In the Tulādhāra-Jājali conversations about धर्मरहस्य in the Śānti Parvan, Tulādhāra, the Vaiśya, says "As morality is subtle and complicated, one very often does not know what it is."

सूक्ष्मत्वाच्च स विज्ञातुं शक्यते बहुनिर्णयः ॥ Śāntiparva, 268, 37,

Should Rāma therefore have sacrificed the throne and gone to the forest? He need not have; but he did. Therein lies the essence of the tragedy. All round him would have applauded and welcomed the opposite decision. Lakṣmaṇa held the opinion that it was no duty on his part to obey his father who gave the direction without any powers of discrimination and in utter disregard of his kingly duties. The principle of conduct according to him is to be found in the Śloka

गुरोरप्यवलितस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः ।

उत्पथं प्रतिपन्नस्य कार्यं भवति शासनम् ॥ Ayodhyā., 21, 13.

“Even a father or preceptor who, disregarding what ought to be done and what ought not to be done, takes up defiantly the wrong path deserves punishment.” This verse occurs in four or five places in the Mahābhārata also. According to Kausalyā, the duty of serving his mother was even superior to obeying the directions of the father. But, perhaps the most reasoned and powerful argument against the course adopted by Rāma came from Bharata. He took up two positions, one, the established law of the State being that the eldest son succeeded to the throne, the king had no power to deviate from this law of succession and to bestow the kingdom on Bharata. Hence he argued that it was no duty of Rāma to obey the king’s directions and act according to the desire of his father. Secondly, it was Rāma’s duty as a Kṣatriya to rule the kingdom and to work for the happiness and welfare of his nation and therefore to assert his right of inheritance to the throne. It was wrong, he argued therefore, to fly from the post of duty and adopt the life of an ascetic. The larger duty to the State superseded, according to him, the inferior one of practising the family virtue of obeying his father and the individual virtue of keeping his word to Kaikeyī.

शाश्वतोऽयं सदा धर्मः स्थितोऽस्मासु नरर्षभ ।

ज्येष्ठे पुत्रे स्थिते राजा न कनीयान् नृपो भवेत् ॥ Ayodhyā., 101, 2.

He pleads eloquently on that momentous occasion when the brothers meet at the Citrakūṭa Hill in the presence of a distinguished gathering of the picked men of the Kosaladeśa, the ministers and learned sages and the Ṛṣis of the Daṇḍaka forest thus:—

क चारण्यं क च क्षात्रं क जटाः क च पालनम् ।

ईदृशं व्याहतं कर्म न भवान् कर्तुमर्हति ॥

एष हि प्रथमो धर्मः क्षत्रियस्याभिषेचनम् । Ayodhyā., 106, 18-19.

अथ क्लेशजमेव त्वं धर्मं चरितुमिच्छसि ।

धर्मेण चतुरो वर्णान् पाळयन् क्लेशमाप्नुहि ॥ Ayodhyā., 106, 21-22.

To the first position of Bharata, Rāma's answer was that it was not so clearly established that the succession to the throne was his and refers to the fact that the king even at the time of his marriage with Kaikeyī had settled, in consideration of the marriage, the kingdom on the heirs born of Kaikeyī and that the kingdom had been gifted as a Śulka to her.

पुरा भ्रातः पिता नः स मातरं ते समुद्रहन् ।

मातामहे समश्रीषीत् राज्यशुल्कमनुत्तमम् ॥ Ayodhyā., 107, 3.

He also pleads to Bharata to look at it from another aspect. He argued that it was in the power of the father to divide his inheritance among his sons, and as part of that arrangement to give the throne of Kosala to Bharata and allot the Daṇḍaka forest to Rāma. The second position required a more serious answer, and here Rāma took up the stand that the standards of individual morality and the duty of attaining individual perfection are superior even to the considerations of State and to the Dharma of a Kṣātriya and the duty of service to his subjects and fellowmen. He says decisively in the following verse:—

प्रत्यगात्ममिमं धर्मं सत्यं पश्याम्यहं ध्रुवम् ।

भारः सत्पुरुषैश्चीर्णस्तदर्थमभिमन्यते ॥

क्षात्रं धर्ममहं त्यक्ष्ये ह्यधर्मं धर्मसंहितम् ।

क्षुद्रैर्दृष्टं सैर्लब्धैश्च सेवितं पापकर्मभिः ॥ Ayodhyā., 109, 19-20.

and argues that after all the duty of a Kṣātriya involved cruelty and injury to others and considerations of State must be subject to the highest standards of individual morality and perfection. One will readily see that the position taken up by Rāma is in sharp contrast to that taken up by the Lord on the field of battle in the Mahābhārata. He there acclaims the principle of Svadharma and applauds the duty of a Kṣātriya to fight and assert his right even though it involved being arrayed in battle against one's own parents, elders and preceptors and the duty to the State is superior to the duty to one's own family.

धर्म्याद्धि युद्धाच्छ्रेयोऽन्यत् क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते ॥ Gītā, II. 31.

He said it was wrong on the part of a Kṣātriya to prefer the life of an ascetic. The reading of the Rāmāyaṇa indicates to us what according to Vālmīki was the solution for this ethical puzzle. It is wrong to give up one's duty to work for the attainment of one's individual perfection. It is also not right on the part of a person to give up his Svadharma or to disregard his duties which appertain to his particular status in life or to look upon his duty to his fellowmen and to his country as at all inferior to these things. The reconciliation therefore is to be found in the individual trying to perfect himself and then to work for the welfare of his fellowmen. This has been the ideal adopted by the great men of this country. It was in pursuance of this ideal that the Great Buddha renounced his throne and led the life of an ascetic for years and attained Buddhahood and then returned to the cities of his country to work for the spiritual and moral happiness of his fellowmen. It is again in the same spirit that the great Śaṅkara fled from the world even at the age of five but to return to it after years of hard striving towards individual perfection and to work for the welfare of humanity and to travel incessantly throughout the length and breadth of the country to preach his great doctrine and bring salvation and happiness to mankind. Again, imbued with this ideal it was, that the great Vidyāranya, even after becoming an ascetic, led his strenuous worldly life of a Minister to the king of Vijayanagara, and the great Mahratta Saint Samartha Rāmdās in the midst of his ascetic life of devotion and non-attachment to family and country, took upon himself the task of inspiring his disciple the great Śivāji to work for the restoration of Hindu Dharma and the establishment of a Hindu Empire in India. We may say therefore without exaggeration that the way was shown to these great ones of our land by Vālmīki of yore. The conflict between Pratyagātma Dharma and Kṣātra Dharma has appeared in modern times in a different garb, *i.e.* between individual freedom and the dignity of the Human Personality and the tyrannous claims of the totalitarian State. The modern age has to solve it. In the proper solution of this conflict lie the safety and happiness of humanity. Humanity's realization of itself and of the world can be attained only by an ever-increasing liberation of the values

that are universal and human. True creative art consists in evolving a tragic episode of sacrifice and suffering from unpromising events or incidents. As Sir Radhakrishnan says: "To produce an impression of terror, Schiller sets a whole town on fire, throws infants into the flames and locks up old men in old towers. Shakespeare drops a handkerchief and freezes our blood". Vālmiki drops a phrase and melts our hearts.

MA'BAR (FROM 1311 TO 1323 A.D.).

BY

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The history of Ma'bar during the years which immediately followed the departure of Malik Kāfūr about the middle of 1311 A.D. is obscure. The trend of events is not definitely known; and the few known facts, which throw a feeble ray of light on the prevailing gloom of the unknown, have given rise to much speculation. An attempt is made in the following pages to take stock of the known facts and learn what information they actually yield about the progress of events during this period.

I

Malik Kāfūr is said to have raided Ma'bar as far as Rāmēśvaram and established a garrison under a governor at Madura, before he set out on his return journey to Dehli.

'The expeditions into the Deccan conducted by the eunuch Malik Kāfūr, the infamous favourite of the Sultan, ended in 1311 The Hindu kingdoms of the Yādava dynasty of Deogiri (Daulatābād), the Hoysala dynasty of Mysore, and of the Ma'bar or the Coromandel coast were plundered and to a certain extent subjugated. Mussalman governors were established even at Madura, the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas.'¹

'There seems, however, little doubt that he (Malik Kāfūr) left a garrison behind in Madura, the head-quarters of the Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara, who had fled for protection to Dehli. Whether the garrison was left to safeguard the interests of Kulaśēkhara is not clearly stated, but seems quite likely. There are good reasons for believing that a Mussalman garrison continued in Madura.'²

The establishment of a military garrison and a governor at Madura by Malik Kāfūr is a myth of recent origin. There is

1. Smith; Oxford History, p. 233.

2. S. K. Aiyangar: South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders: p. 123.

absolutely no evidence in support of the opinions cited above; and the flimsy grounds on which they are adumbrated are too thoroughly exposed by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri to need further consideration.¹ There is, however, one point which deserves some comment. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar states in the passage quoted already that the Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara (an obvious slip for Sundara, as pointed out by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri) fled for protection to Dehli and that Malik Kāfūr left a garrison at Madura, at the end of his Ma'bar campaign, to protect him. This statement is partly based on Wassāf who briefly describes the history of Ma'bar during this period.² Sundara Pāṇḍya, who according to him, was defeated by his brother in the middle of the year 710 A.H., fled to the court of 'Alā-ud-Dīn for protection.

Now, the middle of 710 A. H. corresponds to November 1310 A.D.; and it was exactly about this time that Malik Kāfūr's expedition started from Dehli.³ Since Wassāf does not give the exact date of Sundara Pāṇḍya's flight to Dehli, it may be presumed that he might have reached the city before the starting of the expedition; but this is contradicted by Wassāf as well as Amīr Khusrau.

"In the month of Rajab of the year 710 A.H.", says Wassāf, "the appointed leaders, accompanied by a select army, were despatched to conquer Ma'bar, and some of the towns were obtained through the animosity which has lately arisen between the two brothers; when at last a large army, attended by numerous elephants of war, was sent out to oppose the Muhammadans, Malik Nabu, who thought himself a very Saturn, was obliged to retreat and bring back his army."⁴

It is obvious that when Malik Kāfūr entered Ma'bar the fratricidal war was still in progress; and neither of the two brothers had obviously gained any advantage over the other. This is corroborated by the evidence of Amīr Khusrau. While Malik Kāfūr lay encamped at Bandri, he sent scouts into the Hoysala country to obtain intelligence about the state of affairs.

1. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, pp. 207-8.

2. E. D., iii, p. 54.

3. In the month of Rajab 710, according to Wassāf; 24th Jumādi II 710 A.H. according to Khusrau.

4. E. D., iii, p. 88.

'He was informed', says Khusrau, 'that the two Rāis of Ma'bar, the eldest named Bir Pāṇḍya, and the youngest Sundar Pāṇḍya, who had up to that time continued on friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions, and that Bilāl Deo, the Rāi of Dhur Samandar, on learning this fact, had marched for the purpose of sacking their two empty cities.'¹

It may, however, be pointed out, as in fact was done by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, that Sundara Pāṇḍya did not seek help from the Sultan directly but 'from the Nāib of the Sultan, Malik Kāfūr who was then in the South. Sundara's appeal gave occasion for interference, if such an occasion was necessary for Malik Kāfūr at all.'² This was, no doubt, a possibility, which, however, does not appear to have taken a material shape. Malik Kāfūr's conduct during the Ma'bar campaign clearly indicates that there existed at the time no bonds of friendship or alliance between him and Sundara. As soon as Kāfūr completed the spoliation of Vīra Pāṇḍya's territory, he proceeded to the south against Sundara, attacked his capital, and set fire to the temple of his favourite deity. Sundara had to flee from his capital with all his family and treasures to save himself and all those that were immediately connected with him from the rapacity of the invader. If Sundara had met previously Malik Kāfūr on the way and solicited help from him, Kāfūr would not have attacked him in the way in which he had done. Neither 'Alā-ud-Dīn nor his deputy is ever known to have attacked an ally. It is evident that Sundara did not seek help from Dehli directly or otherwise until Malik Kāfūr's departure from Ma'bar. Therefore his flight to the court of Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn must be assigned to a later date.

II

The departure of the Mussalman invaders from their country did not free the princes and the people of Ma'bar from foreign enemies. Another invader came soon from the south, and he showed no inclination to return to his own country. This was Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara, the king of Kēraḷa; and he marched to Kāñci in 1313 A. D., and crowned himself the king of Ma'bar on the banks of the Vēgavatī. It is believed that 'the unsettled state of the country consequent on the Mussalman invasion and

1. E.D., iii, p. 88.

2. South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, p. 96.

the confusion that prevailed in the land immediately after it, seem to have offered a nice opportunity for the Kēraḷa king to seek his way to the place.¹ The presence of Ravivarman is thus seen to be due to an act of aggression actuated by motives of conquest. A few facts pertaining to his career deserve reconsideration, as they seem to represent his character in a new light. The main incidents of his life are set forth in his inscriptions engraved on the walls of the shrines of Arulāṇātha at Kāñcī and of Śrī Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam. Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara was the son of Jayasimha of Kēraḷa and his queen Umādēvi. He was born in S. 1188 (1266-67 A.D.); defeated his enemies, and married the daughter of a Pāṇḍyan prince; he took possession of Kēraḷa in his 33rd year (1299-1300 A.D.); vanquished Vīra Pāṇḍya, made the Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas subjects of Kēraḷas, and crowned himself king of Ma'bar on the banks of the Vēgavati at the age of 46 (*i.e.* 1312-13 A. D.); subdued the Pāṇḍyas, Cōḷas and Kēraḷas, chased Vīra Pāṇḍya to Koṅkaṇa, thence to the forests, conquered the northern country, and returned to Kāñcī where in the 4th year of his reign he made a gift of some land to the temple of Arulāṇātha.²

Now, this inscription mentions two starting points of the reign of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara: (1) The 33rd year of his age corresponding to 1299-1300 A.D., when he commenced to rule over Kēraḷa; and, (2) another, reckoned from an unknown date, the fourth year of which corresponded to the date of the Arulāṇa Perumāḷ temple inscription. As the inscription was indited sometime after Ravivarman's coronation on the bank of the Vēgavati in the 46th year of his age (*i. e.* 1312-13), Kielhorn had taken that year to be the second starting point, and assigned the inscription to 1316-17 A. D.³ This calculation is, however, based on wrong premises, as shown by another record of Ravivarman dated also in his 4th regnal year. The Tiruvāḍi epigraph which registers the performance of the Kumbhābhiṣeka ceremony of the temple of Tiruvīraṭṭāṇam is dated in the fourth year of this king corresponding to Kali year 4414 and the Śaka year 1235 Makara Śu, 11 Saturday, Rōhiṇi. (29 Dec. 1313 A.D.)⁴ It is clear from this that the second starting point coincided with

1. K. V. S. Aiyar: Ancient Deccan, pp. 62-3.

2. E. I., iv, p. 146.

3. *Ibid.*

4. E. I. viii, 98.

the year 'following December 29, 1309 A. D.'¹ Therefore, the Arulāḷa Perumāḷ temple inscription must be assigned to 1313-14, and not to 1316-17 A.D.

The circumstances in which Ravivarman felt himself justified in reckoning his regnal years from 1309-10 A. D. are not known. The suggestion of Sewell that 'his coronation as Kēraḷa king took place' in that year² cannot be accepted for a moment, as the Arulāḷa Perumāḷ temple inscription makes it abundantly clear that his rule in Kēraḷa began in 1299-1300 A.D. It is not reasonable to suppose that he waited until 1309-10 to celebrate his coronation. An interesting fact which seems to have some bearing on this subject must be noticed here. The Pāṇḍyan emperor Māraḡvarman Kulaśēkhara I was assassinated by his son Sundara Pāṇḍya in this year.³ It may be remembered in this connection that Ravivarman had married a Pāṇḍyan princess; and that he had assumed, in his later records, some characteristic Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya titles such as Kōnermaikoṇḍāṇ, Tribhuvanacakravarti, etc. All these facts, taken together, produce on the mind the cumulative effect that the assassination of Māraḡvarman Kulaśēkhara I and adoption of a new mode of reckoning the regnal years of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara are somehow connected.

Another point that stands in need of elucidation is Ravivarman's attitude towards Sundara Pāṇḍya. How were they disposed towards each other? An epigraph engraved on the base of the Perumāḷ temple at Poonamallee states clearly⁴ that Ravivarman had conquered Sundara Pāṇḍya; but unfortunately this epigraph is undated, and leaves us in doubt about the time when Ravivarman secured this victory. It is, however, interesting to note that the dated records of Ravivarman while pointedly alluding to his victory over Vira Pāṇḍya which resulted in the subjugation of the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḷas make no mention of Sundara Pāṇḍya. This is, indeed, singular. Sundara Pāṇḍya, it may be remembered, assumed supreme sovereignty at Madura, after assassinating his father in 1309-1310 A.D.; and he was found ruling the city at the time of Malik Kāfūr's invasion in April 1311 A.D. An inscription dated in his 9th regnal year *i.e.* 1311-12 A.D.

1. Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions*, p. 178.

2. *Ibid.*

3. E.D., iii, p. 53.

4. 34 of 1911.

shows that he was ruling at the time over portions if not the whole of the Tinnevely district.¹ He was, therefore, the immediate neighbour of Ravivarman and must have first come into conflict with him when Ravivarman attempted to conquer the country of the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḷas. From the statement of the Arulāḷa Perumāḷ temple inscription that Ravivarman defeated Vira Pāṇḍya, made the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḷas subject to the Kēraḷas, and, at the age of 46 (*i. e.* 1312-13) was crowned on the banks of the Vēgavatī, two interesting corollaries follow: (1) that, at the time, the countries of the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas right up to the borders of Kēraḷa were in the possession of Vira Pāṇḍya; and (2) that Sundara Pāṇḍya ceased to have any hold on these countries. How Vira Pāṇḍya gained mastery over these countries, and what happened to Sundara are explained by Wassāf. Though brief and slightly inaccurate about the date, Wassāf's account throws considerable light on the happenings in the country of Ma'bar subsequent to Malik Kāfūr's departure.

‘But, as in every religion and faith, evil deeds produce a life of insecurity, a matter which is unnecessary to expatiate upon, he (Sundara), notwithstanding all the treasures, and the good-will of the army, was far from being happy and prosperous, entertaining crude notions, and never awakening from his dream of pride, and at last met with the chastisement due to his ingratitude, for, in the middle of the year 710, Tira Pandī, having collected an army, advanced to oppose him, and Sundar Pandī, trembling and alarmed, fled from his native country, and took refuge under the protection of 'Alā-ud-Dīn of Dehli, and Tira Pandī became firmly established in his hereditary kingdom.’²

The date to which this event is assigned by Wassāf is, as already pointed out, slightly inaccurate. The middle of 710 A.H. corresponds, as mentioned in a previous context, to November 1310 A.D.; and as the fratricidal war was still in progress at the time of Kāfūr's invasion, according to Wassāf and Amīr Khusrau, and as Sundara Pāṇḍya was ruling according to Khusrau at Madura, at the time of Kāfūr's attack on that city,

1. 596 of 1915.

2. E. D., iii, p. 54.

Vīra Pāṇḍya's victory over Sundara must be placed at some time subsequent to April 1311 A.D., when Kāfūr retreated from Ma'bar. And as Vīra Pāṇḍya was in possession of the Pāṇḍya and the Cōḷa countries at the time of Ravivarman's invasion which terminated sometime before 29 December 1313, Vīra Pāṇḍya's victory over his brother must be referred to the period between April 1311 and December 1313. An interesting fact which has not been noticed hitherto may be mentioned here. No inscription dated in the 10th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya who came to power in 1302-3 A.D. has been discovered so far. We have inscriptions dated in his 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th years but not one which can be assigned to his 10th year corresponding to A.D. 1312-13. Vīra Pāṇḍya's victory over Sundara, and the flight of the latter to the court of Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn must be very probably assigned to this year.

What benefit Sundara Pāṇḍya had derived by his visit to the court of Dehli is not known. 'Alā-ud-Dīn does not seem to have rendered him any material help. Wassāf who describes Sundara's visit to Dehli does not refer to any assistance or the promise of assistance which he obtained from the Sultan. The other Mussalman historians have no knowledge of the facts connected with Sundara's visit; nor do they refer to any expedition which the Sultan sent to Ma'bar after Malik Kāfūr's return.

Sundara had to return from Dehli probably disappointed; but, on his arrival at Ma'bar, he found that during his absence the state of affairs had undergone a radical change. Ravivarman Kulaśekhara, the ruler of Vēnāḍ, defeated Vīra Pāṇḍya, took possession of the empire, and crowned himself at Kāñcī. Ravivarman's attitude towards Sundara was not at first probably unfriendly. The inscriptions of Sundara dated in his 11th and 12th regnal years show that his authority was recognized in the South Arcot and Tinnevely districts.¹ A conflict must have soon arisen between them over the question of their respective status in the empire. This must have precipitated a war which resulted in the defeat and expulsion of Sundara, as mentioned in the Poonamallee record. Therefore, Ravivarman's victory over Sundara must be assigned to the period following the date of his Arulāḷa Perumāḷ temple inscription.

III

Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara's rule at Kāñcī did not, however, last long. He was soon obliged to relinquish his imperial designs and retire to his native country. It is generally believed that he was expelled from Kāñcī by Muppiḍi Nāyaka, the general of the Kākatiya king, Pratāparudra.¹ The belief, however, is not based on facts. In the first place, Muppiḍi's invasion came in 1316 A.D., whereas Ravivarman's rule at Kāñcī seems to have come to an end in 1315 A.D.² Secondly, the available evidence clearly shows, as will be seen presently, that Muppiḍi did not take Kāñcī from Ravivarman but from the Pañca Pāṇḍyas. Therefore, Ravivarman's retirement from the Pāṇḍyan territory was due to causes other than the invasion of the Kākatiya general. There is reason to believe that it was partly brought about by the reconciliation of Sundara with Vīra Pāṇḍya, and their union with the other princes of the family. Two facts must be noticed in this connection: (1) Muppiḍi Nāyaka was opposed by the Pañca Pāṇḍyas, viz., Vīra Pāṇḍya, Sundara Pāṇḍya, Vikrama Pāṇḍya, Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya. (2) In an inscription of Vṛddhācalam dated in his 13 + 1 year (1316-17), Sundara Pāṇḍya remits certain dues from a number of villages for conducting the service named after Muppiḍi Nāyaka, established in the local temple by his elder brother.³ Only one elder brother of Sundara is known from the contemporary accounts, and that was Vīra Pāṇḍya⁴. It is also interesting to note that Vīra Pāṇḍya also sustained defeat at the hands of Muppiḍi. The remission of taxes by Sundara for the maintenance of a service founded by his elder brother presupposes the existence of friendly relations between them. A more important cause than the reconciliation of the Pāṇḍyan princes was the recrudescence of trouble in Kēraḷa. Ravivarman, it may be remembered, was at first the lord of Jayatuṅganāḍ. He gained possession of the

1. S. K. Aiyangar: South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, P. 126; Sewell: Historical Inscriptions, P. 179.

2. 54 of 1908. The latest regnal year found in his inscriptions in the northern districts of the Pāṇḍyan empire is 4 + 1.

3. 72 of 1918, MER. Part ii, Para. 50.

4. Amīr Khusrau, E.D., iii, 88. Wassāf however makes Sundara Pāṇḍya elder. (*Ibid.* pp. 52-3.)

neighbouring district of Vēnāḍ either by conquest or, what is more likely, through inheritance. This district was conquered during the last quarter of the 13th century by Vikrama Pāṇḍya, younger brother and co-regent of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I;¹ and was made over to Ravivarman who married his daughter, probably as a part of the dowry.² It remained in his possession up to the time of his coronation on the bank of the Vēgavatī, when a rival made his appearance, disputing his right to rule the district. Vīra Pāṇḍya who had been worsted in the struggle with Ravivarman retired to Kēraḷa, and attempted to undermine his power by exciting a rebellion. He proclaimed Vīra Udaiya Mārttāṇḍavarman, a scion of the supplanted royal family of Vēnāḍ, as the ruler of the country, and incited him to overthrow the authority of Ravivarman.³ The people of the district rallied round the banner of their ancient rulers; and thus while Ravivarman was celebrating with great pomp his triumph on the bank of the Vēgavatī, a serious situation developed in his native Kēraḷa which threatened to destroy the very foundations of his power. To overcome this new menace, Ravivarman was obliged to hasten homewards with his forces, and make an attempt to clear the country of the hostile elements. He was successful in his endeavours at first. He inflicted a defeat on Vīra Pāṇḍya who opposed him at the head of the forces of the Kēraḷas, Pāṇḍyas, and Cōḷas, and forced him to retreat northwards into Koṅkaṇa; he pursued him thither, and having driven him

1. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, p. 190.

2. Līlātilakam (Pisharoti's edition) p. xvi.

Drōṇāya Drupadam Dhanañjaya iva kṣmāpāla bālām balī
Venāṭṭinnodayōru Vīra Ravivarmākhyō yadūnām patih|
Pāṇḍyam Vikrama pūrvakam paḍayil veccāṭṭipidiḥcanganē
Pāṇḍyēśāya koḍuttu tasya tanayām padmānanām agrahit||

I am obliged to Prof. P. J. Thomas, M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil. for having drawn my attention to this verse.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar who quotes this verse in his learned article on Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara in the New Indian Antiquary (Vol. I, P. 166) makes him marry the daughter of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara. This is clearly wrong; for the simile '*Drōṇāya Drupadam Dhanañjaya iva*' distinctly indicates that the princess whom Ravivarman married was the daughter of Vikrama Pāṇḍya whom he had defeated even as Dhanañjaya had defeated Drupada.

3. TAS. iv. p. 90.

together with a large army into the forests, conquered the northern country. It is interesting to note that Ravivarman had to fight against the Kēraḷas to whom he made the Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas subjects on a former occasion. This is a clear indication that the Kēraḷas revolted against him subsequent to the time of his coronation on the Vēgavati. Although Ravivarman chased Vīra Pāṇḍya out of Kēraḷa and Koṅkaṇa, he did not destroy him altogether. Vīra Pāṇḍya, who retired into the forests of Koṅkaṇa, might return again at a favourable moment to renew the contest. The Kēraḷāpuram epigraph of his subordinate ally Udaya Marttāṇḍavarman Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva dated 14th Feb. 1317 A.D.¹, shows that he did emerge from his seclusion, and make an attempt, not altogether without success, to seize Vēnāḍ once again. The reappearance of Vīra Pāṇḍya in Vēnāḍ, and the success of his protégé Udaya Mārttāṇḍavarman seem to have summoned Ravivarman again to Kēraḷa. Moreover, Vīra Pāṇḍya appears to have also solicited about this time the help of a powerful ally, Ballāḷa III, who readily responded to his call. The presence of Ballāḷa and his army in the Tamil country at this time is disclosed by the inscriptions. A record of Māgenahallī in the Chennapaṭṭana taluka of the Bangalore district dated 1318 A.D., states that Ballāḷa was at that time camping at Aruṇasamudram²; this is corroborated by two *viragal* epitaphs which declare that while Ballāḷa was halting in the said place, he was engaged in warfare in the neighbourhood of Kaṇṇanūr.³ He appears to have been sojourning here even earlier; for Pedda Rudra, who led the troops of his father Muppiḍi Nāyaka, as far as Gingee early in 1316 A. D., came into conflict with him in this region.⁴ The reason for the presence of Ballāḷa III in the Pāṇḍyan dominions is suggested by the epitaph of a hero who perished about this time in a battle near Kaṇṇanūr. It is said that Singeya, the son of Sōmeya Daṇṇāyaka, a *maiduna* or brother-in-law of Ballāḷa III, who was fighting in the army of Vīra Pāṇḍya, was slain by the enemy.⁵ The presence of Singeya Daṇṇāyaka in

1. TAS iv, p. 90.

2. EC. ix. Cp. 73.

3. *Ibid.*, xii Ck. 4; MAR 1916, p. 55.

4. An unpublished inscription at Drākṣārāmam, Mac. Mss. 15-4-4, p. 37. See App. at the end of this paper.

5. MAR. 1913, para. 86.

Vīra Pāṇḍya's army, and his participation in a war which the latter was waging against his enemies presuppose the existence of friendly relations between Vīra Pāṇḍya and Singeya's master, Ballāḷa III. It is not unreasonable to assume, in these circumstances, that Vīra Pāṇḍya, in order to dislodge Ravivarman from his dominions, not only helped his friend Udaiya Mārttāṇḍavarman to seize Vēnāḍ, but entered into an alliance with Ballāḷa III, and induced him to march into the Tamil country with his army. The outbreak of a fresh rebellion in Kēraḷa and the arrival of the Hoysala army in the Pāṇḍyan territory must have compelled Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara to give up his ambitious schemes, and retire hastily towards his native country. A record of his 7th year (1317 A. D.) at Tinnevely which registers the gift of Kuppāyakkuḍi in Anubhōgavalanāḍu to some Brahmans for founding a village shows clearly that he still held sway over the southern fringes of the Pāṇḍyan empire, some two years after his retirement from the north.¹ It completely disposes of the theory that Ravivarman was slain in Muppiḍi Nāyaka's southern invasion.²

IV

Vīra Pāṇḍya managed to get rid of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara with the help of his two allies, Vīra Udaiya Mārttāṇḍavarman and Ballāḷa III, and attempted to establish his authority over the empire; but before he could do this, the peace of the country was again disturbed by another foreign invasion, this time from Warangal.

The causes that led to the despatch of an expedition under Muppiḍi Nāyaka by the Kākatiya Pratāparudra against the southern kingdom are not known. Vīra Pāṇḍya's alliance with Ballāḷa III, and the latter's intervention in the affairs of the Pāṇḍyan empire perhaps roused the jealousy of Pratāparudra. A more powerful cause than this was the need for restoring his authority on the southern frontier. Malik Kāfūr's attack upon Warangal seems to have reduced his military power and lowered the prestige of his government. The petty chiefs who were governing the southern marches threw off their allegiance, and asserted independence. This state of affairs called for a demonstration of military force on the Tamil frontier. Besides,

1. 77 of 1927 MER part ii, p. 68.

2. Sewell, Historical Inscriptions, p. 180.

the desire to revive the Kākatiya rule at Kāñci, and the need for the acquisition of the required number of elephants to be sent to Dehli as a part of the annual tribute might have also prompted the despatch of troops in the same direction.

Muppiḍi Nāyaka set out with the army probably from Warangal, accompanied by a large number of chiefs including his own son Pedda Rudra, Eṛṣa Dāca and Nalla Dāca of the Rēcerla family, Dēvari Nāyaḍu and Prōlaya Vēma, the founder of the future Reḍḍi kingdom of Korṇḍaviḍu. Though Muppiḍi Nāyaka was formally invested with the command of the expedition, he seems to have left the actual conduct of operations in the hands of his son. The army marched at first into the territory of the Cōlas of Nellore. Śrīraṅganātha, the ruling chief, who took an active part in the rebellion, claimed their attention first. Pedda Rudra declares that he had frightened Śrīraṅganātha, and scared him away from the battlefield; the Velugōṭivāri vāmśāvali adds that a battle was fought at Nellore in which Rēcerla Eṛṣa Dāca greatly distinguished himself; he is said to have vanquished several Māṇḍalikas, and restored Tirukālarāja to the throne of Nellore. Tirukālarāja, who had been thus elevated to the throne, must have been a scion of the Telugu Cōla family and a rival of Śrīraṅganātha.¹ Pedda Rudra next came into conflict with a chief called Kōṭa Tikka who probably held sway over the southern part of the Nellore district, and slew him with all his followers in battle. He advanced further south into the hilly region around Nārāyaṇavanam in the Chittoor district, and reduced the numerous strongholds with which the neighbouring country was studded to subjection and freed the territory dependent on Nellore from the enemies.

From Nārāyaṇavanam Kāñci was not far off. But Pedda Rudra did not immediately proceed against the city; instead, he led his troops into the territory of Ballāḷa, which probably lay in the neighbourhood, and forced it to submit to his authority. Pedda Rudra's operations against Ballāḷa naturally drew him on

1. Mac. Mss. 15. 4. 4, p. 37.

आदावाहृतभीतिमाजिविमुखं श्रीरङ्गनाथं वृषम्

The Velugōṭivāri vāmśāvali (Mac. Mss. 15-4-3).

“నానావర్ణమండలీకరగండ, నెల్లూరి మీరక్షేత్రాణో భారతీమల్ల” “తిరుకాళరాజు రాజ్యస్థాపనాచార్య”

into the interior of the Pāṇḍyan territory and provoked the anger of the Tamil chiefs in the neighbourhood. They seemed to have joined their forces, and opposed his advance somewhere in the vicinity of Gingee, but were, however, defeated in battle.¹ One of the important incidents of the campaign was the capture of the fortress of Gingee, a stronghold of the Sambu-varāyas.²

Pratāparudra had no desire to establish his dominion in the Tamil country; therefore, following the common practice of the Hindu conquerors, his commander restored the conquered territory to the vanquished chiefs. Pedda Rudra, having penetrated to the centre of the Pāṇḍyan empire had to turn round and march towards Kāñcī owing to the muster of the enemy's forces in his rear. The 'Five Pāṇḍyas' gathered together

1. Mac. Mss. 15. 4. 4. p. 37. (See App.)

कृत्वा संयति कोटतिकृत्पतिं नीत्वा दिवं सानुगम् ।

नानामन्नियदुर्गसाम्द्रकलिकं नारायणाख्यं वनं

जित्वा यः क्रमशः हतारिमिकरोन्नेल्लूरुदेशं पितुः ॥

भूयो (भूमिं) बल्ललभूपतेर्धनयशःशुल्केन चित्तप्रियां

कृत्वा शम्बरिमुख्यमन्नेनृपतिं जित्वा....

Commenting on the name of a tax called '*Vallāla dēvar vari*' referred to in one of the epigraphs of the Yādavarāya prince, Tiruveṅgālanātha at Tirupati, Sādhu Subrahmanya Sastri opines that it was 'a tribute to the liege lord who reduced the Yādavarāya to submission; and in this particular case, the conqueror was Vīra Vallāla, and the tax went by the name of *Vīra Vallāla dēvar vari*'. (T. T. Devasthānam Inscriptions, I p. 110). If Tiruveṅgālanātha Yādavarāya who was the lord of Candragiri in the neighbourhood of Nārāyaṇavanam were really a dependant of Ballāla, the country of Ballāla attacked by Pedda Rudra must have been the principality of the Yādavarāyas.

2. The title of '*Cemcumala* or *Cemcimala cūrakāra*' 'the plunderer of the hill fort of Cemci' (Gingee) borne by Prōlaya Vēma and his descendants points to some victory which Vēma won at Gingee. As the territories of Vēma were confined to the Telugu country and as he never fought in the Tamil country subsequent to the foundation of his kingdom, the event which justified the assumption of this title must have taken place when Vēma accompanied Muppiḍi Nāyaka's army as an officer in the service of Pratāparudra.

their troops at Kāñcī to defend their dominions. The arrival of the intelligence of the warlike preparations of the Pāṇḍyan kings had probably influenced Pedda Rudra to cry halt and turn back, and march rapidly northwards. When he approached the vicinity of Kāñcī, he was joined by his master Pratāparudra, and they soon came into conflict with the Pāṇḍyan forces. A fierce engagement took place outside the city. 'The Five Pāṇḍyas', Vīra, Sundara, Vikrama, Kulaśekhara, and Parākrama participated in the battle. The Pāṇḍyan elephants charged the Telugu infantry furiously, and spread panic in the ranks, but the Velamas, headed by their chief Eṛṇa Dāca, as well as the Reḍḍi contingents, stood firm and averted the impending disaster. Eṛṇa Dāca is said to have excited the admiration of the distinguished warriors of Pratāparudra's court by rushing on the leader of the elephant squadron, lance in hand, and checking its progress. This act was the turning point of the battle, and victory soon declared itself in favour of the invaders. It was followed by the fall of the city of Kāñcī and the installation of Māna Vīra as its governor. The identity of the governor is not known, though it has been declared on very inadequate grounds that he was a Telugu Cōḷa prince of Nellore.¹

1. EI., vii, p. 128; The unpublished Drākṣārāmam Inscription, Mac. Mass. 15. 4, 4, p. 37. (Appendix at the end of this paper).

The Velugōṭivāri Vaimśāvali:—

- చ॥ వెలయఁ బ్రతాపరుద్రు సభ వీరభటావళి చూడ నాజిలోఁ
జలమునఁ గుంత మందుకొని చయ్యనవచ్చు గజంబు నోర్చి దో॥
ర్పల ఘనవిక్రమంబునను బైకొని తా జయలక్ష్మీ చేకొనక
గెలిచెను పాండ్యరాజగజకేసరి దాచయశౌరి పాండ్యులక॥
- మ॥ గరళం బుగ్రతవచ్చు చోట సురసంఘాతంబులో నిందుశే
ఖరుడొక్కండును గానవచ్చుఁ గడువీరకక బాండ్య సైన్యంబు భీ
కరమై వచ్చినచోఁ దెలుంగు నవలతుల్లోన దెల్లంబుగా
నరలోకో త్తముఁ డెఱుదాచవిభు గానక వచ్చు నాజినలీక॥
- ఉ॥ కంచి సమీపమందు నతిగాఢమహోగ్రతఁ బంచపాండ్యులక
మించిన విక్రమస్ఫురణ మీరి విజృంభణ సంచితంబుగాఁ
ద్రుంచి జయించి భూతములఁ దృప్తులఁ జేసె రణంబునందు నా
యంచితకీర్తిహారుఁ డెఱుదాచనృపాలుఁడు భూతలంబునక॥
- ఉ॥ లాలితశౌర్యశక్తి నవలతులెనుంగుదళంబు నాజిలోఁ
దోలిన పాండ్యభూవిభునితోడి పెనంకున కోర్చి సమృత్తిక
వ్రాలి ప్రతాపరుద్రసభ వర్ణన కెక్కిన యెఱుదాచ భూ
పాలసుతుండు సింగని కభంగుని కేబిరుదైనఁ జెల్లదే॥

Muppiḍi Nāyaka appears to have left at Kāñcī a part of his army under Dēvari Nāyaḍu, one of the distinguished officers in the service of Pratāparudra, probably to protect Māna Vīra from the attacks of the Pāṇḍyas. Such a protection was in fact needed. The defeat which the Pāṇḍyas sustained at Kāñcī did not shatter their power. Both Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara seem to have been making active preparations to expel the Telugu army from their dominions. Dēvari Nāyaḍu was obliged to march against them at the head of his forces. He inflicted a defeat on Vīra Pāṇḍya and his ally the Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi Udaiya Mār-ttāṇḍa Varman at the battle of Tiruvadikuṇṇam and seized all their wealth. Next, he turned against Sundara Pāṇḍya and appears to have won over him a victory. Then, he proceeded to Jambukēśvaram on the Kāvērī and recorded his victories on the Pāṇḍyas in an inscription which he caused to be indited on the walls of the temple of Śiva in the place¹. The Pāṇḍyas were thoroughly subdued, and acknowledged their submission to Muppiḍi Nāyaka by instituting a sandi in his name in a temple at Vṛddhācalam.²

V

How long Pratāparudra was able to maintain his old on Kāñcī is not known. The Pāṇḍyan power appears to have been revived in parts of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. In the present uncertain state of our knowledge of Pāṇḍyan chronology, it is not possible to deduce any historical information from the available epigraphic material. The interval between the departure of

1. S. I. I. iv No. 430, 29 of 1891. I am obliged to Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar, Assistant Epigraphist in the office of the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern circle, Madras, for having drawn my attention to this record.

The name of the Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi whom Dēvari Nāyaḍu defeated together with Vīra Pāṇḍya at Tiruvadikuṇṇam is lost. There were two princes at the time to whom the appellation, Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi might apply: (1) Ravivarman Kuleśekhara and (2) Udaiya Mār-ttāṇḍa Varman. As the former was a deadly enemy of Vīra Pāṇḍya he could not have joined him. The latter was a friend and subordinate ally of Vīra Pāṇḍya. Therefore, he must have been the Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi alluded to in the Jambukēśvaram record.

2. 72 of 1918. M.E.R. 1918, Part ii, Para 50.

Muppiḍi Nāyaka and the final subjugation of the country by Muḥammad Tughlaq constitutes the darkest period in the history of the mediaeval Pāṇḍyan empire. Nevertheless, the scanty information furnished by a few Hoysala records of the period, and contemporary notices of the Muslim historians relieve the gloom to some extent. The *viragal* epitaphs of 1318 A.D., noticed already, allude to the war which Vira Pāṇḍya was carrying on with the assistance of Ballāḷa III against some unnamed enemies in the neighbourhood of Kaṇṇanūr in the Trichinopoly district.¹ Another record dated 1322 A.D. discloses the names of these enemies. Samudra Pāṇḍya, a son of Vira Pāṇḍya appears to have revolted against his father, and having allied himself with Parākrama Pāṇḍya, whose seat of government was probably at Madura, marched on Kaṇṇanūr and closely invested the fort. To raise the seige, Vira Pāṇḍya proceeded against them, accompanied by a Hoysala contingent under the command of Singeya Daṇṇāyaka, the son of Maiduna Sōmeya, the brother-in-law of Ballāḷa III. But in the battle that ensued Singeya was slain, and Vira Pāṇḍya was defeated. The fort of Kaṇṇanūr fell into the hands of Samudra Pāṇḍya and his ally.² It is evident from this that a grim fight still went on among the Pāṇḍyan princes, notwithstanding the lessons taught by the series of foreign invasions that swept over the empire. The malady which had such a firm hold on the members of the ruling family proved beneficial to the petty chiefs. They endeavoured to assert their independence taking advantage of the growing feebleness of the central government. Of these, the most important was Kulaśēkhara Śambuvarāya who cast off his allegiance about 1318 A.D.³

While the Pāṇḍyan princes were thus absorbed in the interminable internecine feuds, a second Mussalman invasion reached the country from Dehli. Sultan Qutb-ud-Dīn Mubārak Shāh sent an expedition under the command of his favourite Khusrau Khān to Ma'bar in 1319 A.D., probably with the object

1. EC. ix, Cp. 73; MAR. 1916 p. 55; EC. xii, Ck. 4.

2. MAR. 1913 Para 86. My grateful thanks are due to Dr. M. H. Krishna, Director of Archaeological Studies, Mysore, for kindly sending me, on request, a copy of this epigraph, for the purpose of consultation.

3. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, p. 214.

of reducing it to subjection. Khusrau marched from Dehli and halted for some time at Dēvagiri putting down the rebellion of the governor Yak Lakhy who had recently declared his independence. As soon as he completed that task, he set out from Dēvagiri towards Ma'bar. The events of the campaign, excepting the unfortunate incident of the merchant Sirāj-ud-Dīn Taki Khān, are not recorded. It is said that Khusrau Khān went on plundering the country along his route until he reached the sea.¹ On his approach the rulers of Ma'bar fled from their places carrying away with them their treasures. Khusrau plundered two cities and captured about a hundred elephants.² On his arrival at Ma'bar, Khusrau Khān was compelled to remain inactive at Paṭṭan, if Ferishtah can be trusted, for 'about one year' owing to the outbreak of the rains.³ The governor of Paṭṭan was a wealthy Mussalman merchant called Sirāj-ud-Dīn Taki, who, trusting to his faith, remained in the city, in the expectation of being left unmolested. But Khusrau Khān did not allow himself to be influenced by considerations of religion when he anticipated to gain wealth. Therefore, he seized Sirāj-ud-Dīn with all his family, and appropriated his treasures, de-

1. 'Īṣāmy; Futūh-us-salāṭin:—

Chun ān khān-i-khusrau pas az chand gāh

Ba sūy-i-paṭan rānd yak sar sipāh

Hamy rānd lashkar ba ṣad kar wa far

Hamy tākht itarāf-i-har būm wa bar

Chunān rānd bar Hinduwān be darīgh

Ki dar āb-i-daryā firūshast tigh

2. Barni ED, iii, 219. Yāhya-bin-Aḥmad mentions a country called Malki (Saitly or Hatly) where Khusrau Khān, while marching towards Ma'bar captured 'twenty elephants, and a diamond weighing six dirm.' (Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi. G. O. S. LXIII, p. 85). Badāoni refers to the country as Maithili and while mentioning the capture of the elephants and the diamond, enhances the number of the former to 920! (Al Badaoni, Rankin's trans. i, p. 286). Ferishtah states that the elephants as well as the diamond were captured in Ma'bar itself. (Brigg's Ferishtah, i, p. 391.)

3. Brigg's Ferishtah, i, p. 391; Barni, iii, p. 219.

claring that they belonged to the Sultan's treasury. When Sirāj-ud-Dīn and his family were brought before Khusrau, he beheld among them the beautiful countenance of the merchant's daughter; and becoming enamoured of her he asked for her hand in marriage. On hearing the request, Sirāj-ud-Dīn felt immeasurably outraged, and considering that death was preferable to enforced compliance took poison and died.¹

The immense wealth that fell into his hands kindled the flame of ambition in Khusrau's bosom, and he contemplated treason. As the Muslim historians give varying accounts of his intentions, it is not possible to discover what he actually aimed at. Ferishtah's assertion that 'he proposed to establish himself in the Deccan in an independent sovereignty'² is not supported by contemporary evidence. Barni suggests that Khusrau's ambition soared even higher. 'Whilst he remained in Ma'bar' says he, 'he did nothing but plot with his confidants as to the best means of seizing and putting to death those nobles who supported the reigning dynasty.'³ But 'Īsāmī declares that Khusrau

1. 'Īsāmī; Futūh-us-Salāṭīn:

*Chu lashkar dar āmad abā dār wa gir
Shud ān mard bar dast-i-lashkar asīr
Hamu dar Paṭān būd farmān ravā
Ki ham rād būdast ham pārsā
Ba burdand ū rā ba dargāh-i-khān*

*Hazāre sih chāre shutar bār māl
Zar wa gauhare dukhtare bā jamāl*

*Chu Khān did dar manzīr-i-dukhtarash
Nazar dukht az jumla māl wa zarash*

*Ba guftā badān mard parhīzgār
Ki dukht-i-khud andar nikā ham darār*

*Chu bashnīd ān mard afzūn girīst
Ba guftā nabāyad azīn bīsh zīst
Ki khwāhad chunīn sufla-i-dukhtaram*

*Hamān ba ki yakchand zuhre khuram
Shanīdam hamān rūz zuhrē bakhurd*

Wa zīn kārvān-i-kuhn kūch kard.

2. Brigg's Ferishtah, i, p. 391.

3. ED, iii, p. 219.

wanted to carry away in a ship all the booty to some distant country, where he would be beyond the reach of the Sultan's arm.¹ Whatever might be Khusrau's real schemes, he completely alienated the feelings of the nobles who accompanied him by his high-handed action. They suspected his loyalty, thwarted his designs, and forced him finally to accompany them to Dehli practically as a prisoner. Therefore, Khusrau Khān's expedition proved little more than a raid which involved the plunder of the outlying districts of the Pāṇḍyan empire. It totally failed to produce any influence on the political life of the people.

The history of Ma'bar during the years that followed Khusrau Khān's expedition in 1320 A.D., is enveloped in darkness of Cimmerian intensity. All that is known to us is that the country had passed into the hands of the Sultan of Dehli sometime before 1335 A. D. When and how the country had been subjugated by the Mussalmans is left to surmise. A few facts however may be noticed in this connection.

1. An inscription of Tiruvāmāttūr in the South Arcot district dated in the 14th year of Veṅṛumāṅkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya (1335-6 A. D.) refers to 'an invasion of the Turukkar, i. e. the Muhammadans which took place 'in the previous days', and to 'the ruin in the country'.² The epigraphist suggests that the Muhammadans might be 'either the followers of Malik Kāfūr, or of the Sultans of Madura.'³ It must be pointed out that the inscriptions refer to a past event, and as Sayyid Jalāl-ud-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh revolted in 1334-5 A. D., and as he could not feel secure in his position until 1336 A.D., it is very unlikely that the Sultan of Madura could have been the cause of the ruin of

1. Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn:—

Chu bar Khān khazāna base jama gasht

Khāiyāle mar ū rā ba khātir guzasht

Hamy khwāst ān šāhib-i-inqilāb

Nishīnad ba kishty wa uftad ba āb

Bayābad sar az khusrau-i-nāmwar

Zanad khāima bērūn azin būm wa bar

Ba šadr-i-šadūr archa gīrad qarār

Buvad'azm-i-Hindū barah dar farār.

2. 434 of 1904, MER, Part ii, para 27.

3. *Ibid.*

the country referred to in the inscription. The elimination of the Sultan of Madura does not, however, lead definitely to the conclusion that Malik Kāfūr was the author of the destruction; for, since the departure of Kāfūr, the country was successively overrun by the armies of Khusrau Khan and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq. Therefore, the inscription does not enable us to determine the date of the Muslim conquest of Ma'bar.

2. A passage in the history of Barni indicates that Ma'bar was subdued by the Sultans of Dehli sometime before the transfer of the capital to Dēvagiri by Muḥammad bin Tughlaq in 1327 A. D.

'The second project of Sultan Muḥammad, which was ruinous to the capital of the empire and distressing to the chief men of the country', says Barni, 'was that of making Deogir his capital under the title of Daulatābād. This place held a central situation; Dehli, Gujerat, Satganu, Sunar-ganu, Tilang, Ma'bar, Dhur Samundar, and Kampila were about equidistant from thence, there being but slight difference in distances.'¹

It is evident that Ma'bar was included in the Dehli empire at the time of the transference of the capital to Dēvagiri. As this event took place in 1327 A. D. the conquest of Ma'bar must have been accomplished sometime before that year. This is the upper limit. It is often stated that Malik Kāfūr had established a Muslim garrison at Madura in 1310 A. D. which became the nucleus of the later Sultanate. But this statement is not based on facts. The hollowness of this contention has been sufficiently exposed in an earlier context in this paper; and it is needless to examine it further.² It is enough to state that no Muslim historian, either contemporary or later, ever alludes even indirectly to this incident, nor is there anything in the Hindu sources to suggest that there was a Muslim garrison at Madura, since the time of Malik Kāfūr's expedition. Though Kāfūr's expedition added to the already prevailing confusion of the fratricidal war, it did not produce any effect on the political life of the country. Khusrau Khan who came nine years later was not more fortunate. Though he plundered the towns, his

1. E. D., iii, pp. 238-9.

2. Cf. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, pp. 207-8.

progress was completely checked by the internal dissensions in his camp, and he had to return to Dehli without achieving his object. Ma'bar thus remained in the hands of its Hindu rulers until 1320 A. D. Therefore, the Mussalman conquest appears to have been effected in the interval between 1320 and 1327 A. D.

Now, what purports to be the actual date of the Muslim conquest is furnished by the Pāṇḍyan chronicle. According to this work, an army came from Dehli in the month of Āvaṇi of the year Rudhirōdgāri corresponding to Śaka 1246, and 227th year of an unknown era reckoned from the destruction of the city of Kollam; defeated and captured Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva; and established Muslim government at Madura.¹ The Śaka era is well known, but not so the other. It is not, at any rate, identical with the Kollam era that commenced in 825 A.D. As its 227th year corresponds to Ś. 1246, its initial year must have coincided with Ś. 1019 when the destruction of Kollam, which was the cause for its starting, should have taken place. It is interesting to note in this connection that the city of Kollam was actually destroyed by Naraḷōkavīra, an officer in the service of the Cōḷa emperor, Kulōttuṅga I.² As the earliest mention of Naraḷōkavīra's exploits occur in the inscriptions of the 28th regnal year (Ś. 1020) of the emperor, it is not unreasonable that the events mentioned therein took place a little earlier. As the initial year of this Kollam *alinda* era coincides with the year of the destruction of Kollam by Naraḷōkavīra, it may be held with reason that he started the era to commemorate this victory over the city. Both dates to which the Pāṇḍyan chronicle assigns the Muslim conquest of Madura work out correctly to May-June 1323 A.D., and as there is nothing improbable in this, it may be tentatively accepted as the actual date when Ma'bar was brought under the sway of the Sultan of Dehli. In that case, the achievement must be laid to the credit of Ulugh Khān, who had overthrown the Kākatīya dynasty and sent Pratāparudra as a prisoner to Dehli in the same year. Parākrama Pāṇḍya who is said to have been carried away to Dehli as a prisoner must be identical with the king of that name who came to power in 1315

1. Taylor: Hist. Mss. i, p. 203.

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri; Cōḷas ii, pp. 21-2; Cōḷa Studies, p. 191.

A.D. An obscure allusion in 'Iṣāmy's Futūḥ-us-Salāṭin probably refers to the captivity of this monarch.¹

APPENDIX.

[AN UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION FROM DRAKSARAMAM, MAC.
MSS. 15—4—4. P. 37].

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“निजगुणलतिनङ्ग(निजगुणलतिका)विकसितविशदयशः-
कुसुम....सुरभिकृवारिदन्तको (सुरभीकृतहरिदन्तरो) हरिव(हरिरिव) निरन्तरानु-
वर्तितदानवारिविभवो भव इव सर्वमङ्गलिङ्.....रितसर्वाङ्गः (सर्वमङ्गला-
लिङ्गनाङ्कुरितसर्वाङ्गः) क..... १

आसीत्तस्य च कार्यखड्गकरणे(धरणे) विश्वासविश्रामभू(भूः)
(पुत्रः) दक्षिणबाहुदण्डसदृशः सत्या(or तस्या)नुरूपोदयः ।
श्रीमन्निर्मलसोमनाथचरणद्वन्द्वारविन्दद्वये
भृङ्गो मुष्पाडिनायकः सुमनसां सङ्कल्पकल्पद्रुमः ॥ २

तस्याभवन्मधुरिवाभिनवः प्रजाना-
मानन्दनीयचरितः पेदरुद्रनामा ।
संवा(पा)दयन् सुमनसामनिशं समृद्धिं
कुर्वन् सदा सुकविरञ्जनमात्मजोऽयम् ॥ ३

1. In one of the preliminary sections of his work in which Iṣāmy describes the main achievements of the Sultans of Hind, he refers to the capture of the king of Ma'bar.

Nakhustīn ki zad khaimadar Dēvgīr?

Ba-dastē ki shud rāy Ma'bar asīr?

Ki ba-girift az zōr-i-bāzū Tilang?

Ki ba-girift Jājānagar tā ba Bang?

As he enumerates the exploits in a series of questions without mentioning the names of the Sultans responsible for them, it is difficult to discover the identity of the captor of the Rāy of Ma'bar.

पाणा(णौ) बिभ्रद्पाणं(बिभ्रत्कृपाणम्) प्रकटरिपुबलद्रोहणारोहणार्तं(?)

घोटीमारुह्य धाटीमहति (धाटीमटति) पटुरयं पेदरुद्रस्स रौद्रः ।

तस्मादस्माकमस्मिन् नलमलविरियं(नलमलमिति यम्) संस्मरन्तस्त्वरत्न(न्तः)

प्रत्याशूः(शं) प्रत्यरण्यः(ण्यं) प्रतिगिरिशिखरं यद्विपः(पाः or षः) प्रद्ववन्ति ॥ ४

आदावाद्रान्त(दत)भीतिमाजिविमुखं श्रीरङ्गनाथं नृपं

कृत्वा, संयति कोटतिक्कनृपति(तिं) गीत्यादिवंशानुगम् (नीत्वा दिवं सानुगम्) ।

नाना“ मन्निय ”दुर्गसान्द्रकलिके (कं) नारायणारुख्यं वनं

जित्वा, यः क्रमशः कृकारि(द्वतारि)मकरोन्नेल्लरि(रु)देशं पितुः ॥ ५

भूयो (भूमिं) बल्लड(ल)भूपते(ः) घनयशश्शुल्केन चित्तप्रियां

कृत्वा, शम्बरिमुख्यमन्नेनृपतिं जित्वाथ संस्थाप्य (च) ।

काश्चीं यः प्रतिपद्य काञ्चनमहि(ही)काश्चीमिवोदञ्चितां

तत्राराध्य च कामकोटिचरणो(णौ) कामानतो लब्धवान् ॥ ६

पाण्ड्यान् निर्जित्य (विजित्य) समरेण शतं द्विपेन्द्रा-

नासाम्यवस्य(श्य)मिति मुप्पिडिनायकसो (नायकस्य) ।

यथा दृढप्रतिज्ञः

यो वीररुद्रनृपतेः पुरता(तो) व्यतानीत् ॥ ७

सोऽयं काकतिवीररुद्रनृपतेराज्ञां प्रतिज्ञां च तां ८

(The three other lines of this verse are lost).

भूयोऽभिषिच्य निजबुध्निपयःप्रवाहि (?)

नानान्न(न)वीनजयवन्य(जन्य)यशःप्रसूनः ।

अभ्यर्च(र्च्य) यो वरमविन्दत (वीररुद्रे) द्रात् (?)

चै or वै....तदनु मुप्पडिपेदरुद्रे(द्रः) (?) ९

द्राक्षारामं विरामं विविधभवबुधोमोहसारं हनाना (?)

वासान्ध्या(आसाद्या)राध्य सद्यो गिरिवरसुतया भीमनाथं सनाथम् ।

सन्तुष्टा(ष्ट)स्तस्य दृष्ट्वा लसदमृतरसासारसर्वातिसारां

मूर्तिं या नित्यमूर्तिं(मार्तिं) हरति विनमतां हर्षमुत्कर्षयन्ती ॥ १० ॥

शाकाब्दे गुणवेदसूर्यगणिते (1243) धर्मान्वितौ दुर्मतौ

मासे श्रावणिके तृतीयदिवसे शुक्ले च सोमाश्रिते ।

ग्रामं गङ्गवरं सुधर्मविषयेनाद्यङ्किवर्गन्तरे (सधर्मविषयेनाद्यङ्किवर्षान्तरम्)

प्रादान्मुष्पडिरुद्रसैनिकपतिः श्रीभीमनाथाय सः ॥ ११

अस्य ग्रामस्य पूर्वतः इङ्कालविनामा दक्षिणतः काणकिनामधेयः

पश्चिमतः चन्दद्वरुः उत्तरतः सोमपुरं नाम क्रमशः ग्रामाः । १२

1. with the spaces of the quarters
fragrant with the flower of his pure fame blossomed on the
creeper of his own good qualities, like God Hari eternally intent
on giving prosperity to the gods, he who ceaselessly poured out
the water for gifts, like God Śiva having his whole body in
horripilation by the embrace of Pārvatī, he whose whole body is
in exhilaration on account of all kinds of auspiciousness attending
him

*

*

*

2. He had a son (named Muppiḍi Nāyaka), with prosperity
in accordance with his truthfulness, (or equally prosperous),
resembling his own right hand, being entrusted with the bearing
of and capable of relieving him of his affairs as well as his
sword, a bee at the lotus-feet of the pure Sōmanātha, a veritable
Kalpa tree to the wishes of the good (of the gods).

3. To him there was this son named Pedda Rudra, glad-
dening his subjects like the fresh spring, always bringing
prosperity to the good (to the flowers) and pleasing always the
good poets.

4. "Bearing the sword in his hand, this fierce and efficient
Pedda Rudra, mounts his horse and attacks
therefore let us have nothing to do with him"—thus thinking of
whom their (*i. e.* the enemies') elephants (or his enemies) flee
in haste to every quarter, every wood and every mountain-top.

5. Having first frightened and turned away from the
battle king Śrī Raṅganātha, having in battle sent to heaven,
along with his followers, king Kōṭa Tikka, having conquered the
forest region called Nārāyaṇa full of several "Manniya" forts,
he (who) gradually made the Nellore territory of his father rid
of enemies.

6. He who having made his bride, with the price of ample
fame, the kingdom of king Ballāḷa, having conquered and again
reinstated the Śambhuvarāya king, reached Kāñcī, shining like
the golden girdle of Earth, there worshipped at the feet of
Kāmākṣī and obtained his wishes (from Her).

7. "Conquering the Pāṇdyas in battle, I shall..... a hundred of their elephants"—as if fulfilling this (vow) of (his father) Muppiḍi Nāyaka, he who (did that) and brought (the elephants) before king Vīra Rudra.

9. ¹(Muppiḍi Nāyaka winning battle and earning fame and gratifying Vīra Rudra are here described in terms of propitiation of some deity and getting some boon from that deity.

10. Muppiḍi's pilgrimage to Drākṣārāma is described in this verse).

11. In Śaka 1243, in the meritorious year of Durmati, in Śrāvaṇa month, on the third day of the bright fortnight, Monday, commander Muppiḍi gifted to God Bhīmanātha the village of Gaṅgavara, along with the territories of Dharmaviṣaya and Addaṅki.

12. To the east of this village is the village named Iṅkalavi, Kāṇakī to the south, Candalūru to the west and Sōmapura to the north.

ŚRĪ PUṚAMBIYAM

BY

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There is a famous verse in the Udayendiram plates of Prthivīpati II Hastimalla which runs:

Yaḥ śrīpuṇḍriya mahāhava mūrdhni dhīraḥ
Pāṇḍyeśvaram Varaguṇam sahasā vijitya|
Kṛtvārthayuktam Aparājitaśabdā ātma-
Prāṇavyayena suhr̥dastridivam jagāma||

It is agreed on all hands that this verse refers to the death of Gaṅga Prthivīpati I. And till recently the battle of Śrīpuṇḍriyam was dated in 880 A. D. and the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa, opponent of Aparājita, taken to be Varaguṇavarman who was the son of Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha and ruled from A. D. 862-880.

In a recent memoir—"Prthivīpati I, Varaguṇa and Aparājita"¹—Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma has reopened the question and sought to prove that the battle was fought much earlier than 880 A. D. and that Varaguṇa of the verse cited above must have been Varaguṇa I whose reign extended according to his calculations from A. D. 768 to 818.

The importance of a correct understanding of this celebrated battle can hardly be exaggerated, and it is therefore necessary to examine the arguments on which Mr. Sarma bases his new conclusions.

One preliminary question may be cleared out of the way. Recent studies in Pallava chronology have gone to show that Nṛpatuṅga's reign lasted for some years beyond 880 A. D.; Mr. Sarma gives him the period A. D. 863-888, and this may well be accepted; but considering that the conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by Āditya I Cōḷa from Aparājita took place about 890 A. D.,² it has to be necessarily assumed that the eighteen years or so of Aparājita's rule for the most part overlapped those of Nṛpatuṅga. And if this was so, Aparājita must

1. JOR, ix, pp. 210-237.

2. Cōḷas, i, p. 136.

have fought at Śrīpurāmbiyam on behalf of Nṛpatuṅga¹, that is supposing that that battle was fought in 880 A.D. Unfortunately, we have no direct evidence on the relation of Aparājita to Nṛpatuṅga. The dates advocated by Sarma for the later Pallava kings are calculated throughout on the assumptions that the rule of one king came to an end with his last regnal year found in inscriptions, and that his successor began his rule only after the demise of the predecessor. These assumptions may or may not be true, but may pass as working hypotheses. In the case of the Cōḷas where epigraphical evidence is copious, the decisive calculations of Kielhorn showed that overlapping reigns were the rule. And there is no reason to think that this feature was a monopoly of the Cōḷas.

We may now turn to Mr. Sarma's arguments. He asks first: What authority is there for assigning 880 A. D. as the date of the death of Pṛthivīpati I? The answer is that scholars like Hultzsch, Fleet and Dubreuil, working from different points of view, have reached this date, and it is found to work quite well. In fact, as already observed, we can be sure of any of these dates only as approximations within five or even ten years.

One important link in the evidence relating to the date of Pṛthivīpati I is the fact that he is mentioned in two records from Āmbūr, North Arcot, dated in the twenty-sixth year of Nṛpatuṅga.² Mr. Sarma holds that Pirudi-gaṅgaraiyar of these records should be taken to be not Pṛthivīpati I as Hultzsch did, and all the others who have followed him, but Pṛthivīpati II. Why? "Since Pṛthivīpati," says Mr. Sarma, "mentioned in the Āmbūr records of Nṛpatuṅga's 26th regnal year, i. e. A. D. 880 (possibly later), and Pṛthivīpati II, son of Māramarayar mentioned in the Takkōlam record³ (assigned to 894 or 895 A. D.) are separated from each other only by a short interval of about 15 years, it is not unreasonable to hold that they are identical." "If this identification be accepted," he adds, "it is impossible that the battle of Śrīpurāmbiyam could have been fought in A. D. 880. Therefore this date has to be rejected."⁴

1. Cf. Sarma at JOR, ix, p. 231;
contra Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, p. 77.

2. EI, iv, pp. 180-3.

3. Of Āditya Cōḷa.

4. JOR, ix, p. 216.

I do not see why Mr. Sarma should feel disturbed at the shortness of the interval between the Āmbūr records and the Takkōlam record. There should be no difficulty in believing that grandfather and grandson (Pṛthivīpati I and II) were contemporaries for part of their lives, and much might happen, and it seems, in fact, did happen, in the interval of the few years (only five or six years according to Mr. Sarma) between the close of Nṛpatuṅga's reign and the date of the Takkōlam record of Āditya. The Pallava power ceased to exist, the Cōḷas rose in prominence, and the feudatories of the former (including Pṛthivīpati II) had to change their allegiance accordingly. Mr. Sarma has somehow convinced himself that "Pṛthivīpati I must have lived long before his grandson Pṛthivīpati II, the vassal of Nṛpatuṅga."¹ This is the root cause of his search for a new date for Śrīpurambiyam and a new identification of the Varaguṇa who lost this battle.

But he has not succeeded in his quest. He has landed himself in great, in fact insoluble, difficulties. For if Śrīpurambiyam was fought and lost in fact by Varaguṇa I, a glorious monarch who in reality seems to have known no defeat in his long reign, who was Aparājita? Mr. Sarma can only answer: "It is for future research to decide who this Aparājita was",² or "the term may be interpreted as a title rather than as the personal name of the king,"³ a suggestion which to my mind seems to be precluded by the wording of the verse which I think indulges in a play on the personal name of the ally or Pṛthivīpati rather than on one of his titles; and Mr. Sarma is aware that Aparājita is the personal name of the last Pallava ruler overthrown by Āditya I, according to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

Mr. Sarma quotes my remark: "It seems strange that the victor of Śrīpurambiyam appears to have left no inscriptions to the south of Kāñcīpuram," in support of his new position. But I made the remark in the belief that Aparājita had a long reign as sole ruler of the Pallava kingdom after Nṛpatuṅga. And if, as it now seems, Aparājita and Nṛpatuṅga ruled conjointly for several years, and Aparājita was overthrown by Āditya in a few years, two or three, after Nṛpatuṅga ceased to reign, then we

1. JOR, ix, p. 219.

2. *ib.* p. 230.

3. *ib.* p. 230.

may assume that Aparājita was normally ruling over the area from which his inscriptions come, and that, in an emergency, he marched south with his ally Pṛthivīpati I to give battle on the Pāṇḍyan frontier and that his success put off the evil day for the Pallava power by some years.

There is just one more point in Mr. Sarma's argument. In the 18th year of Nṛpatuṅgavarman, a Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa-mahārāja made a large endowment in Tiruvadi.¹ This was doubtless Varaguṇa II. Mr. Sarma argues that as Varaguṇa was the friend of Nṛpatuṅga and a foe of Aparājita, therefore Aparājita and Nṛpatuṅga must have been enemies and their conjoint rule over a common territory becomes inexplicable.² This somewhat startling application of the bookish theory of the Maṇḍala on interstate relations is a clear warning against our putting too much faith in our own theories. The Tiruvadi inscription, in fact, fits in very well with the other known facts of the relations between Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas in this period. The Bāhūr plates of Nṛpatuṅgavarman narrate how he gained a great victory in his youth against the Pāṇḍyas on the banks of the Aricit (Ariśilār), also perhaps fought near Kumbhakōṇam, like Śrīpuṇrambiyam later. The battle of Aricit must have been towards the close of the reign of Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha, and since then the Pāṇḍyas must have recognised Pallava dominance in some way.³ The Tiruvadi inscription must be taken to belong to this period of subordinate alliance with the Pallavas which must have been irksome to the Pāṇḍyas. Varaguṇa's attempt to shake off this relation which ended in the disaster of Śrīpuṇrambiyam came at least eight years later, i. e. after the twenty-sixth year of Nṛpatuṅgavarman.

The result of this discussion goes to show the soundness of the chronology and identifications relating to the battle of Śrīpuṇrambiyam on which we have been working so far; only the date 880 A. D. for the battle must be treated as a good approximation rather than as an immovably fixed date; and few will yet be prepared to treat many dates in Indian History as anything more.

1. 360 of 1921.

2. JOR, ix, p. 233.

3. Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, pp. 74-77.

THE BĀLAKṚṢṆA COIN OF KṚṢṆA RĀYA

BY

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The year 1515 was an eventful one. The emperor Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya had just installed in February of that year the beautiful image of Bālakṛṣṇa brought away by him from Udayagiri after defeating the Gajapati. The installation was a great and glorious ceremony, and inscriptions incised on the newly erected temple give a graphic description of the wealthy endowments bestowed by the king for the regular maintenance of the daily worship and ritual.

But there appears to have been yet another scene in the glorious drama of the installation of the deity on which proper attention has not yet been focussed. The image of Kṛṣṇa was imprinted on small gold coins to be distributed among the pious old Brahmans that came there to witness the installation. These commemorative coins were to perpetuate the memory of the glorious occasion. The symbol was later used for even the usual coinage, and it became a type.

This commemorative coin type is not unusual. We have for instance the famous Aśvamedha type of Gupta coins. The sacrifice is commemorated by the imprint of the horse on the coin. These coins, at first minted for distribution among the Ṛtviks, Adhvaryus, Hotṛs and a host of other Brahmans learned in the Vedas and Śāstras, were produced later for general use and became a type of coin available for all.

The figure of Bālakṛṣṇa on Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's coins has been described so far as that of Durgā and it has been called the Durgī type. The presence of the conch and discus on either side of the figure has also been explained on that score. But a closer examination of the figure and a comparison of it with the Bālakṛṣṇa for whom Kṛṣṇa Rāya built the special temple, which, though mutilated as a result of vandalism after the battle of Tallikōṭa, is now preserved in the Government Museum at Madras, reveal the identity of the figure on the coin.

A fine sketch of a typical coin of the type (No. 175) is given on p. 152h of Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*. This can well be compared with the Bālakṛṣṇa image. The Madras Museum has a number of coins of this type which were used to illustrate the paper on that coin type by the late Mr. Srinivasaraghava Aiyangar who, like some writers before him, held the view that the figure represents Durgā.¹ The coin has been discussed and re-discussed for about a century and each writer has given his own identification of the figure on the obverse. Bidie and Elliot took it to be a representation of Durgā. There is, however, one coin (No. 175) that Elliot considers has seated Lakṣmī with Śaṅkha and Cakra on the obverse. It may be noted that the only female deity entitled to the conch and discus is Durgā. Hultzsch has taken this figure to be a representation of Viṣṇu.

But the most puzzling identification seems to be that made by Father Heras who, disappointed in his hope to see in it the portrait of Kṛṣṇa Rāya himself, presumes the figure to be that of a sannnyāsin whom Kṛṣṇa Rāya seated on his throne for a short time.² The coin, he thinks, is commemorative of that event. The figure is taken to be that of a woman by Mr. Srinivasaraghava Aiyangar. His description runs:—"A woman-like form is seated over a pedestal with the right leg folded and the left leg bent and kept erect. The right arm is bent and a ball-like thing is seen in the right hand. The left arm is stretched and is supported by the left knee. Bangles are worn on the two wrists and there are bracelets on both the upper arms. A zone of beads is worn round the waist." The description is correct so far as it goes, but the treatment of the torso which is suggestive of a woman is not peculiar to that sex in Vijayanagara coins, a fact clearly brought out by the Umāmaheśvara type of coin. If the figures are to be judged by the torso, both Siva and Umā would be female figures which one obviously is not. This is just a conventional mode of representation where the chest is modelled by means of two small spheroids and the stomach by a third and larger one. In another and cruder variety of the so-called Durgī coin, even shoulder joints, elbow joints and knee-caps have such

1. Varāhas of Kṛṣṇa Rāya of Vijayanagara, *Jour. Ind. His.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 353-356.

2. A new Pratāp of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya of Vijayanagar, *Jour. Ind. His.*, Vol. VII, p. 34-35.

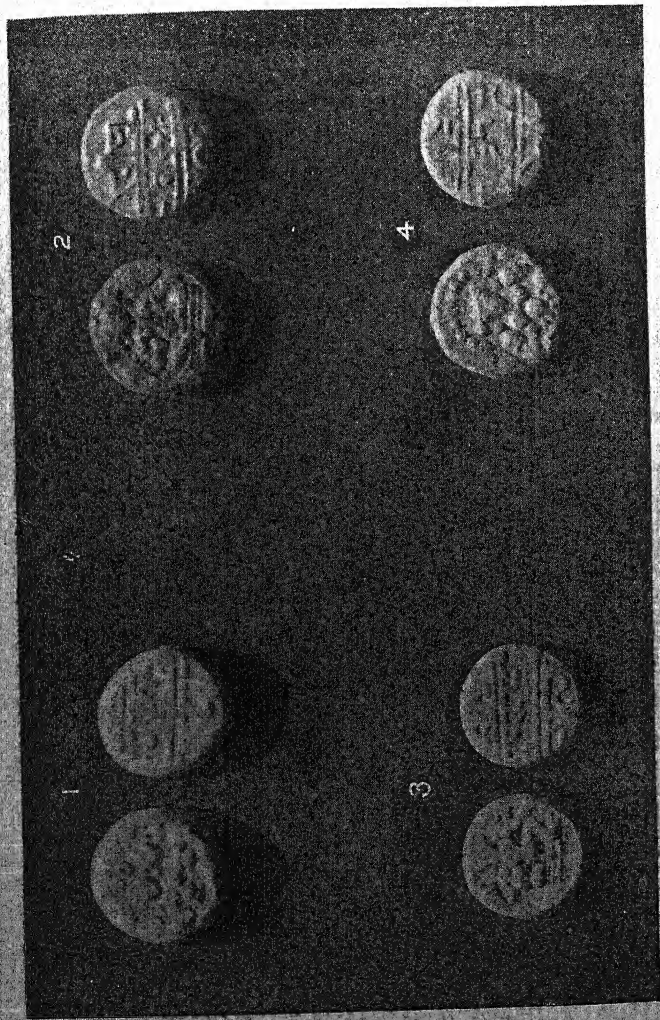


Fig. 1

No. 1. Umāmaheśvara coin of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, in the conventional style referred to on p. 223.

No. 2. Bālakṛṣṇa coin in which the figure is seated as in the image taken from Udayagiri to Hampi.

No. 3. Bālakṛṣṇa coin in which the figure is seated with the left leg hanging down.

No. 4. Cruder variety of same coin.

All the coins are from the Madras Museum collection, casts of which were kindly prepared and given me by Mr. T. G. Aravamudan, Curator, Numismatic Section, to whom I am very thankful, and to Dr. F. H. Gravely, Superintendent of the Museum, for permission to publish them.

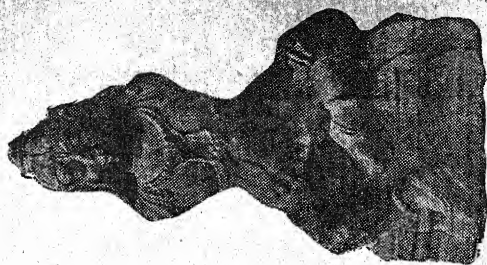


Fig. 2

Bālakṛṣṇa from Hampi.

ball-shapes to represent them. The "ball-like thing" in the right hand of the figure is actually a butter ball, making Mr. Srinivasa-
 raghava Aiyangar's strained explanation that it is "the head of a
 human being which is usually carried by Durgā" unnecessary.
 The zone of beads around the waist is significant in the case of a
 baby boy in India. Father Heras is correct in saying "that the
 figure is nude", in spite of Mr. Srinivasaraghava Aiyangar's ob-
 jection, but he is certainly not correct when he says that it is the
 figure of a man. Baby Kṛṣṇa seated on a pedestal with a
 butter ball in his right hand, the left resting on his left knee is
 just the form of the figure from Hampi; and, as already stated,
 the clue to the identification of the figure on this coin is to be
 sought in the image of Bālakṛṣṇa from Hampi, though in the
 coins it is not always the right leg that hangs as in the figure, but
 sometimes the left instead.

Kṛṣṇa Rāya's devotion to Venkateśvara, in whose temple a
 bronze likeness of himself accompanied by his queens eternally
 adores the Lord of the Seven Hills, is indubitably revealed in the
 figure imprinted on his double pagodas. It is not difficult to see
 the occasion that caused the issue of the coin representing
 Bālakṛṣṇa which, minted by Kṛṣṇarāya for commemorating a
 great event, continued thereafter as a coin for general use and
 became very popular.

OBITUARY.

We have heard with great regret the passing away of the veteran scholar Mr. K. G. Sessa Aiyar, Retired Judge of the High Court of Travancore on the 26th of June 1938. Though by profession he was a lawyer and later filled the high office of a Judge of the Travancore High Court with distinction, he pursued, as a second interest in his life, the study of Sanskrit and Tamil literature. He was an erudite scholar in Tamil and made careful research in many problems relating to chronology in Tamil literature. He had contributed many articles and gave solutions to many problems. In his death the world of scholars has lost a scholar of great learning ripe wisdom and long experience. He was, from its inception, a member of the Editorial Board of our Journal and took a keen interest in its progress. The Journal had always profited by his wise guidance and advice and it is our duty to express our sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family, especially to his son, Mr. K. S. Gopala Aiyar.

BRAHMANIC SURVIVALS IN SIAM

BY

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(1) *Introduction.*

Among the Indian culture-colonies so widely spread out in South-east Asia and the adjacent Archipelago, Siam possesses a peculiar importance on account of its retention, even at the present day, of an appreciable quantity of Brahmanic ritual and ceremonial. Of this quantity, a great proportion is associated with the ceremonies and functions of the royal court; and it is an obvious fact that Brahmanical influences, transmitted from the highly Brahmanised Khmers Cambodia to the Thais of Siam, were most impressed on the royalty and aristocracy and continue to survive to some extent, though superimposed on, and supplanted by, Buddhism. The Menam valley was, at the beginning of the Christian era, in the hands of the Mon-Khmers whose sway embraced, at one time, the whole of the fan of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, from Cambodia to Southern Burma. They were gradually replaced by the Sino-Tibetan race of the Lao (Lava)-Thais, the ancestors of the modern Siamese who advanced from the north and contrived to secure dominion over the whole of the delta of the Menam and over Cambodia and the Malay Peninsula as well.

At a later stage, the combined tribes of the Khmers and the Lao-Thais established the powerful kingdom of Sukothai-Sawan-Kalok (Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya), wherein prevailed a Hindu culture embodying both Buddhist and Brahmanical elements and contributed chiefly by the Khmers of the South. This kingdom flourished for several centuries and reached the zenith of its glory and power in the eleventh century.

There was another kingdom in the South, that of Lopburi (Lapapuri), which formed a part of the Cambodian hegemony, known to the Chinese as Fu-nan and even extended to Southern Burma and a greater part of the Malay Peninsula, i.e. from

Thaton-Pegu to Kedah and Ligor (Śrī Dharmarāja Nagara). The chief city of this kingdom was Dvāravatī, afterwards Sano and later the site of Ayuthia. There was a fresh invasion of the Thais at the beginning of the 13th century, owing to the northern pressure of the Mongols who pressed on South China in their turn. About the end of that century the Thais had come to occupy the whole of the Menam valley and to ravage Cambodia. Subsequently they got portions of the Malay Peninsula from Śrī Vijaya; and their power actually came to extend to the Straits of Malacca about 1400 A. D. It is these that built the city of Ayuthia, about 1350 A. D., on the site of Sano, under a prince of the name of Rāmādhīpati. The kingdom of Sukhōdaya lost much of its territory already; and its last remnants passed under the sway of Ayuthia about 1400 A. D.

(2) *Modern Siam.*

Thus the modern kingdom of Siam came into being; and the splendour of the royal city of Ayuthia began to wax; it remained the capital for four centuries till it was destroyed by the Burmese in 1767; and, after a time, the capital was transferred to Bangkok. The political history of Siam is full of bloody wars with Burma on the West and less serious struggles with Cambodia on the East. Friendly intercourse was maintained with Ceylon; and it was mostly of a religious character. In 1431 King Paramarāja II captured the Khmer capital of Ankor Thom and brought about a large influx of Khmer statesmen and Brahmans into the Siamese capital. His successor, King Paramatrai-lōkanātha (1448-88), completely reorganised the administrative system and supplanted the old feudalism. King Narēśvara was the hero of resistance against the Burmese; and he further consolidated the power of the central government. This monarch saved the country from Burmese occupation which lasted fifteen years (1569-84) and consolidated it by further victories during his reign (1590-1605). The resuscitation of Siam after its second Burmese conquest in 1767 was effected by one, Brahyā Tak, who was deposed, after some time, by one of his generals, Cau Brahyā Cākri, the founder of the present ruling dynasty of Bangkok. Both Brahyā Tak and Brahyā Cākri recalled the exiled officials and court-Brahmans who had held office before the fall of Ayuthia and restored the national institutions as they had existed. The founder of the Bangkok dynasty of the Cākris, who took the name of Rāma, and his two successors of

the same name showed little inclination for foreign contact. The 4th ruler, Rāma IV (1851-68), was also a supporter of the indigenous cultural institutions, though he opened up diplomatic intercourse with the European nations. Thus Siam remained Old Siam till 1868 when a new era of rapid material progress began.

(3) *Old Brahmanism and Buddhism.*

Hinayāna Buddhism was accepted as the national religion at Sukhōdaya in the 13th century. We learn from inscriptions that King Dharmarāja I (1347-cir. 1370) was well versed "in the *Tripiṭaka*, in Hindu ritual, skilled in astrology and able to cast the calendar." He established a school for Buddhist and Brahman priests and despatched a mission to Ceylon to bring away certain Buddhist relics; and, Aśoka-like, he actually became a monk at the end of his life.

When King Rāma Gāmhēn ascended the throne of the newly-formed Thai state, he opened up political relations with China. Hinayāna Buddhism was now accepted as the national Siamese religion. Rāma Gāmhēn has left a famous stele, in which we read the following:—

"On days other than those on which the (Buddhist) precepts are recited, King (*bā khun*) Rāma Gāmhēn sovereign (*cau moa'n*) of Śrī Sajjanālai and Sukhodai, seats himself on this stone slab, and presiding over the assembly of nobles and dignitaries (*lūk cau lūk khun*) discusses with them the affairs of state."

"In the entrance of the gate (of the palace) a bell is hung up; if a subject of the realm has any trouble or any matter that distresses him within or torments his heart, and which he wishes to declare to his prince, there is no difficulty. He has only to ring the bell that is suspended there. Whenever King Rāma Gāmhēn hears this appeal, he questions (the plaintiff) concerning his case (and decides it) according to the right."¹

The audience-bell persisted in Siam until much later times; in Cambodia it is said to have lingered till the 19th century. Probably the custom was derived from India as the *Mahāvamsa*

1. Coedes—*Les Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*—quoted from, by B. Quaritch Wales in (1) *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration* (p. 69) and (2) *Siamese State Ceremonies* (p. 190).

states that "at the head of his bed he had a bell hung up with a long rope so that those who desired a judgment at law might ring it."

(4) *Intercourse with Ceylon.*

It is said that King Dharmarāja I was animated by a great desire to emulate the actions and conduct of the great king, Parākrama Bāhu, of Ceylon who lived shortly before the epoch of king Rāma Gāmhēn. About 1360, the Siamese king sent to Ceylon for a Hinayāna abbot; the contact was strengthened by the importation of a branch of the Bodhi tree and various sacred Bauddha relics from Ceylon and India. From this time onwards, the Siamese monks were able to trace back their apostolic succession, through the Mahāvihāra of Anūrādhāpura, to Prince Mahinda, the great Aśoka Apostle of the Island Buddhist Church.

The religious connection with Ceylon was continued; and we hear of the despatch of a religious mission from Ayuthia in 1753 in response to the request of an embassy from Ceylon, "to bring about the purification of the Buddhist faith which was said to be effete there." "And this most virtuous lord (Kīrti Rāja Sinha of Ceylon, *acc.* 1747 A.D.)...with the desire only to perpetuate the religion of the Great Sage, sent ministers with divers presents and offerings, and an excellent letter to the noble City of Ayojjha for the purpose of bringing priests therefrom, in the 2293rd year of the Parinibbāṇa of the Buddha... and those ministers departed hence in a ship with the Dutch people...and the wise king Dhammika (of Siam) who had devoted his life to the support of the religion and the practice of the ten *Pāramis*...was astonished to hear of the decay of the Buddhist religion in Laṅkā...called together the Saṅgha Rāja and many other great elders of the kingdom of Siam who were skilled and learned in the Doctrine and the Law...and chose a chapter consisting of more than ten priests at the head of whom was Upali...and the king sent in charge of them books of the Dhamma and the Vinaya such as were not to be found in the island of Laṅkā, and also an excellent royal letter, with divers presents, by the hands of the royal ministers of Ayojjha."¹ Again we read of the king of Siam sending, supplementarily, a

1. *The Mahāvamsā* tr. by Wijesinha and Turnour, (1889), Ch. c.—pp. 360 *et seq.*

chapter of priests exceeding ten in number, headed by two elders, Mahā Viśuddhācārya and Varaṇaṇamuni who were set up in the Pupphārama monastery in Ceylon. In return for the despatch of Siamese priests on two occasions, the king of Laṅkā sent to Ayuthia "a likeness of the Tooth-Relic, an image of the Conqueror made out of a very precious stone, a conch-shell with the whorls thereof to the right and numerous other gifts;" and King Dhammika was glad to receive these gifts and was "greatly delighted, as if he had obtained the Tooth-Relic itself." The Buddha image is still to be seen in one of the temples of Siam. In return, the Siamese monarch gave "numerous books that were not to be found in Laṅkā, and a beautiful likeness of the print of Buddha's foot (Siripāda) and a golden pavilion (of small size), and umbrellas as offerings to the Tooth-Relic, and presents of diverse beautiful and lovely things meet to be used by kings" and also an excellent letter setting forth the reasons for the continuance of the friendship between the two kings.¹

It is surmised by scholars that Southern Siam should have had contact with Eastern India and Ceylon through the Malay Peninsula; and the Pali Buddhism of Northern Siam should have also followed this route. Sir Charles Eliot thinks that it was only subsequent to the middle of the 18th century that the Siamese Buddhist Church recognised the seniority and authority of the Singhalese Buddhist Church, and that, in earlier times, the Siamese could have had hardly any direct relation with Ceylon; when they were subject to Cambojan influence they must have felt the influence of Chinese Buddhism and probably also that of Mahāyāna Sanskrit Buddhism. As there was no trace of Pali Buddhism in Camboja until it was imported from Siam, the Pali creed should have spread into Southern Siam only through contact with Burma and the Malay Peninsula.

(5) *Ceremonial Survivals of Brahmanic Influences.*

There is a curious inscription engraved on an image of Śiva, found at Sukhōdaya and dated 1510 A. D. It asserts the identity of Buddhism and Brahmanism. At Lopburi, ancient buildings, originally constructed for the Brahmanical cult, became later adapted to Buddhistic uses. Among the numerous national

1. *The Mahāvamśa*, p. 367; and *The Culavamśa*—Part II tr. by W. Geiger and by Mrs. C. N. Rickmers, (1930), pp. 288-89.

festivals, a few still retain traces of their distinct Brahmanic origin. Among these is the ploughing festival, "recalling to our mind the Nidānakathā, in which the Buddha's father celebrated an imposing ploughing ceremony." Another is the swinging festival, evidently a harvest thanksgiving; and a third is the *Loi-Kathang*—a float-raft festival, when miniature rafts and ships bearing lights and offerings are sent down the Menam to the sea. Some distinctly Hindu *saṃskāras* are still being observed by the nations of Indo-China, like the ear-boring ceremony and the *nāma-karaṇam* (name-giving) ceremony. The tonsure ceremony is a rite of initiating youth and is the most important of the Hindu *saṃskāras* still surviving in Siam. Mr. Quaritch Wales and earlier writers like Gerini find a close relationship between the coronation and the tonsure ceremonies and hold that the tonsure of a prince of rank is an imposing state ceremony deemed second only to the coronation of a king. There is a parallelism between the two ceremonies; and perhaps both are derived from some earlier common rite of installation. The Brahmanical rites connected with this ceremony were introduced about the 9th century and have passed through the Sukhōdaya and the Ayuthia epochs into the present or Bangkok period. It has been greatly superseded by the *sāmaṇera* or Buddhist novice initiation which is a part of the living religion of the people.

The main features of the royal cremation ceremonies are held to imitate the ritual favoured by the Buddhist kings of Ceylon and to have endured from the time of the Sukhōdaya period; but "since the early Siamese kings were imbued with the Khmer cult of the Deva-Rāja, the Hindu-Buddhist rites of Ceylon were grafted on to a very evident substratum of Khmer Brahmanism." The *Satāpakarāṇa* rite is still practised in Ceylon. It is held by Quaritch Wales that the present Siamese royal cremation has not changed greatly since it took shape in the 13th-14th centuries, when Sinhalese Buddhist influences were definitely established, being grafted on to the Khmer cult of the Deva-Rāja and founded on Indian Brahmanism transmitted through Śrī Vijaya and inherited by the first Thai kings.

The *Tulābhāra* of the king was performed at Ayuthia in the 9th lunar month (Śrāvaṇa) of the year, but fell into disuse about the middle of the 18th century. The king and queen were both weighed; and the royal alms were given to the Brahmans. The

festival of the *Baruṇa Satra* (Rain or Varuṇa Festival) has continued on from the days of Sukhōdaya and was entirely Brahmanical, until as late as the Bangkok period when Buddhist modifications appeared in it. It is celebrated in the month of Śrāvaṇa when the commencement of the rains is urgently needed for the rice-crop. "It is difficult to trace the path along which this Siamese ceremony has journeyed from India by reason of the fact that perhaps no Brahmanic ceremony shows greater variations in detail in the various countries influenced by Indian civilisation." This ceremony appears to be derived independently from India and to be made up largely of Tāntric rites.

The ceremony of the speeding of the outflow of flood-water, usually performed only in years of unusually heavy rainfall, is also supposed to be of Brahmanic origin, though no Brahmans took part in it. There is a closely similar rite in Cambodia; and according to Quaritch Wales, the Siamese form of the ceremony is Brahmanic and was derived from India, probably through Cambodia. The *Dhānya-dāha* (burning of the ears of paddy) was a state ceremony of harvest thanks-giving in the month of Māgha. It was elaborately conducted in the Sukhōdaya and Ayuthia periods and included a mock fight between the followers of Indra and those of Brahmā for the possession of the ceremonial umbrella of paddy which was set fire to. There was also the supplementary ceremony of carrying the paddy home. The latter was, perhaps, a Siamese addition to the former; and the former, practised also in Cambodia, has been attempted to be traced back to the Vedic offering of first fruits or *Āgrayaṇeṣṭi* described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Evidently the ceremony is the development of a ritual, a later stage of the primitive concept of Sacrament of First Fruits.

In another festival, known as *Bidhi Śārada*, which means merely the Feasting Ceremony, Mr. Wales could discern, on the basis of an old book, elements of a nucleus Brahmanic festival in which special food prepared by the Brahmans was offered to the gods and the manes and which very likely corresponded to the Hindu śrāddhas. A similar ceremony observed in Cambodia pays more attention to deceased ancestors than is now the case in Siam. According to Gerini, at the beginning of every domestic ceremony, oblations, similar to those of the Hindu

śrāddhas, are offered in Siam to the gods and the *pitrs*.¹ The festival has been attempted to be traced also to the *Śākamedha* offerings of Vedic literature, the *Śākamedha* being a seasonal liturgy inaugurating the beginning of autumn; and the latter was probably an autumnal *āgrayana* festival. Thus the original meaning of *śārada* was lost in Siam and Cambodia, as there was no noteworthy autumn harvest there, the rice-harvest being celebrated by the *Dhānya-dāha* in *Māgha*. "Thus, while Indian colonists brought with them their autumnal festival of the first fruits and perhaps sought to graft it on to some indigenous sacrament of the first fruits transposed from another time of the year, in an effort to keep up the customs of their fatherland, the endeavour was doomed to failure because this was not the rice harvest season in Siam."

The Swinging Festival, performed in the second month, and earlier in the first month, was an important state-ceremony from the Sukhōdaya period. It symbolised the stay of Śiva on earth for fifteen days, attended by the Sun and the Moon, the Earth and the Ganges, as well as by other lesser gods. Śiva is impersonated by a high state official who proceeds at the head of a mighty procession—now transformed into a kind of Siamese Lord Mayor's Show—goes on the seventh day of the waning moon to the swing-place and offers suitable rewards to the swingers who are supposed to be *nāgas*. The theory has been put forward that the festival was originally a sun ceremony and Śiva came to be substituted for Sūrya; again it has been fantastically imagined that the swinging symbolises the churning of the ocean, the swing-posts representing Mount Mēru and the ropes the serpent

1. "The offering of *Khāu dibya* to the *pitrs* and the *gurus* (deceased spiritual professors) is, as already stated, no longer taken seriously, but at least until the modern revivals, it was always the custom to expose some of the food on tables, especially at the cross-roads. . . . These offerings are the same as Hindu *śrāddhas*, and the food thus offered is called *Khāu pinḍa*. But the Siamese do not distinguish between the Hindu *Ekōddiṣṭa-śrāddha* offerings to the *prētas*, i.e. the spirits of those who have recently died and are wandering as ghosts, and the *sapinḍikarāṇa* offerings due to those who have escaped from that stage and joined the company of the 'fathers'. The Siamese *pinḍa* offerings are made indiscriminately to all spirits of the dead" (p. 234 of *Siamese State Ceremonies*, 1931).

Śeṣa. The Brahman temples in Bangkok witness a great amount of ritual in the course of this festival, similar to those performed in connection with the coronation; and the Court Brahmans officiate as *Bṛhaspati* and others and help in the following public tonsure ceremony to which people bring their children and which is performed free of charge.

In what is known as the Ceremony of the First Ploughing which should happen on a day in Vaiśākha, both Buddhistic monks and Brahmans carry the images of their respective gods to the paddy fields of the Crown; and therein, the King's deputy, usually the minister for agriculture, ceremonially ploughs three concentric furrows and then three more. The ploughing festival is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as well as in the *Jātakas*; and it also prevailed in Burma and China. The part played by the Brahmans in the ceremony evidently means that it was derived from Indian usage, though it might well have been that the early Thais might have adopted a Chinese form of the rite.

The feast of lamps when the king sprinkled lustral water on lamp-posts and lighted them with candles, both prepared by Brahmans, must have been originally a Brahmanic ceremony. Three of these posts represented Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā; and the next three possibly represented their *śaktis*, though they were later given a Buddhistic significance. This feast is celebrated at the same time as the Hindu Dīpāvalī; and it was kept up for long after its object was forgotten. The Kārtikēya festival, celebrated in the month of Kārttika till the end of the last century, is worth notice, being in reality the counterpart of the previous festival. The worship and regard paid to the White Elephant, the extinct ceremony of the worship of the Sacred Bull, the festival of Śivarātri which took place on the full moon day of Māgha, the Mēṣa Saṅkrānti when the king takes a ceremonial bath of purification—these are among rites that have a Hindu or Brahmanic origin.

(6) *Origin of these Influences.*

Most of the ceremonies noticed above are associated with the king and have a substratum of Brahmanism which was mainly "derived from Cambodia where similar Brahmanic ceremonies are performed to this day." Hindu influences came to Siam mainly through the earlier Indianised kingdoms of Dvāravātī, Śrī Vijaya and Cambodia. Even after the definite introduction

of Hīnayāna Buddhism from Ceylon in the 13th and 14th centuries, "royal ceremonial remained predominantly Hindu, since the Thai rulers sought to imitate the splendour of their former Khmer suzerains." Hindu influences persisted in the life of Siam as late as the reign of Nārāyaṇa (1656-84) who favoured Brahmanism. The growing hold of Buddhism which culminated in the reign of king Rāma IV (1851-68), is seen in the Buddhist modifications that went into nearly every state ceremony, though "many of the ideas contained in the later Buddhist modifications are extremely ancient and were probably introduced in imitation of the forms in use among the early Buddhist kings of Ceylon." Many of these ceremonies, though relating to the king, have a value for the people and for the conception of the integrity of the state, and indicate the stress laid on the divine nature and position of the king, this itself being largely built on the Khmer conception of the Dēva-Rāja and of the deification of kings, which in turn was "only a highly specialised form of an earlier conception of Indian divine kingship."

The rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Cambodia did not bring a great reaction against the cult of the Dēva-Rāja, although Buddhistic deities supplanted the Brahmanical ones to a considerable extent. When Hīnayānism rose up, the Mahāyānist deities ceased to be recognised; but the Hindu gods which continued to be used on ceremonial occasions, particularly in the coronation ceremony in Siam, became "reduced to the rank of spirits ministering to the Buddha or demi-gods ruling over the inferior heavens." They were indeed fitted into the Buddhistic scheme of things which developed the conception of the king as a Bōdhisattva or an incipient Buddha or else a Cakravartin or universal monarch. This belief of the present-day orthodox Buddhism of Siam is "derived proximately from imitation of the great Sinhalese kings and is strengthened in the minds of the people by the evidence of the popular Indian *Jātaka* stories."¹ The Buddhist king of Siam would not willingly agree to be regarded as being animated by the spirits of Śiva and Viṣṇu or as being enthroned, Śiva-like, on Kailāsa or Meru. The old Brahmanic-tinged court ceremonial of Siam continued largely unaltered till the time of King Rāma IV (1851-68) who was the last monarch of the old school and had the reputation of an extremely learned and pious man.

1. Quaritch Wales—*Siamese State Ceremonies*, pp. 30-31.

(7) *The Brahmans of Siam at the present time.*

The Brahman priests who are now attached to the court of Bangkok, still dress in white and are preserving, in their ritualistic life, many Hindu usages. They wear their hair long, in the form of a chignon, and also the sacred thread on ceremonial occasions. They represent both the Vaiṣṇava (*Brāhmaṇa Br̥dhīpasā*) and the Śaiva (*Brāhmaṇa Bidhī*) sects and have three temples in Bangkok dedicated to Śiva, Gaṇeśa and Nārāyaṇa. The altar of the Śiva temple is most elaborate and contains a number of images including the Dancing Lord (Naṭarāja), Śiva astride the Sacred Bull and Umā. Some images of Harihara, removed now to the National Museum, were formerly housed here and are said to be definitely of the Coḷa period. There are some large images of Gaṇeśa in the middle temple and one of Viṣṇu in the last. These Brahmans do not understand Sanskrit; but they have corrupt Sanskrit texts and a Tamil hymn, written usually in an Indian character, which some say they are able to read, but do not understand. There are instructions in Siamese for the performance of the temple rites, of which a portion is not available. The Brahmans mumble both instructions and *mantras* indiscriminately. There is now no daily worship in the temples; and the state ceremonies are performed with the aid of written instructions. The Sanskrit texts are said to contain a quantity of quotations from the Three Vedas (*Trai Beda*) and the Śāstras, but not from the Atharva Veda.

According to Mr. P. S. Sastri, the Indian Sanskrit scholar on the staff of the Royal Institute at Bangkok, the Brahmanical Mss. in the possession of the National Library at the capital, refer to "the preliminary rites used for all state ceremonies, the instructions being in Siamese, the *mantras* in corrupt Sanskrit, written usually in the Indian character, but sometimes in Siamese." The Indian script of the *mantras* is, according to Dr. L. D. Barnett, Pāṇḍyan (Grantha?) and can be ascribed to a period not later than the 13th century. Besides, the Mss. include a Tamil *mantra* (opening the portals of Kailāsa) and a few *yantra* diagrams. The *mantras* are said to retain traces of metrical composition and of perfectly correct Sanskrit words. Owing to the predominant Buddhist influence, the court Brahmans have got to pass the novitiate as Buddhist monks before they can undergo their own ceremony of initiation (*pvaj Brat*)

comprehending two stages, the taking of the cord of three strings and the subsequent wearing of the cord of six strings.

(8) *Decay of Brahmanic Influence.*

Traces of Brahmanism are found in other places in Siam like Nāgara Śrī Dharmarāja and Batahlun in the Peninsula, in the shape of temples. The Thais recruited their Brahmans from Khmer Cambodia.

King Dharmarāja had a knowledge of the Vedas, as already told. King Dharmaśōkarāja (cir. 1510 A. D.) desired to exalt both Hinduism and Buddhism, according to an inscription on the Śiva statue at Kamben Bejra. Court Brahmans seemed to have been recruited by the kings of the Ayuthia period both from Cambodia and from places in the Malay Peninsula. When Ayuthia was destroyed by the Burmese and its Brahmans fled to Śrīnagara Dharmarāja (1767 A. D.), their tradition was destroyed; and King Brahya Tak of Dhanpuri who restored Siamese independence and ruled from 1767 to 1782, preceding the establishment of the Cakri dynasty, could not make good the restoration of the Brahman priests. When the Cakri kings of Bangkok came to power, the Brahmans who were recruited came from Ligor and even from South India; and hence the modern Siamese Brahmans are "not the relics of a once powerful religious caste; but have been brought in later (from Ligor Nāgara Śrī Dharmarāja and elsewhere) to conduct the court ceremonies in imitation of other courts with an Indian ceremonial."¹ Thus John Crawford who was sent as envoy to the courts of Siam and Cochin-China by the Indian Government in 1821-22, says that he saw at Bangkok three Hindu temples in one enclosure, one of which had fifteen large handsome images, including a nine-foot high figure of Mahādeva, and figures of Pārvatī, Padmī, Viṣṇu and Brahmā. The second was dedicated to Gaṇeśa; and the third "appeared to be dedicated to the worship of the Liṅga of which there was a large gilded figure in the centre of the altar, surrounded by forty or fifty small brass images—such as those of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Nārāyaṇa, Hanumān, the Bull Nandi, etc."² Crawford was told that these images were brought at

1. Quoted from Aymonier by Quaritch Wales in his *Siamese State Ceremonies*.

2. *Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China*—2 Vols. (1830)—Vol. I. pp. 182-83.

different times from Western India (*i.e.* India). The Brahman priest, one of several, so Crawford was informed, was fifth in descent from his ancestor who had first settled in Siam and came from the island of Rāmeśvaram. The principal Brahman at Bangkok in his time was Prah-Mahārāja-Kro-putra-guru, being the son of the first of his family that came to Siam about seventy years ago. These emigrants from Rāmeśvaram came without their families and intermarried with the women of the country. They were all priests and soldiers and of the Śaiva sect. They had lost the use of the language of their forefathers, but had books in the Sanskrit language and "in the provincial character of their original country." They honoured Buddha, not as a god, but as a saint of great reputation. Their learning was small, and they lived mainly upon their reputation for astronomical knowledge, "being constantly consulted by the court and by persons of rank, to give prognostications, for astrology, as an art, is forbidden to the Talapoins." It was from these Tamil Brahmans that La Loubere¹ obtained the first Indian astronomical tables brought to Europe, which excited a great amount of curiosity.

The Brahmans told Crawford that the images in their temples were brought to Siam from Western India (*i.e.* India lying across the Bay of Bengal) in the year 765 of the vulgar era of the Siamese, corresponding to 1406, *i.e.*, really one century before the Europeans found their way into Siam.

Crawford describes the tonsure of the eldest son of the Siamese noble, in the celebration of which the Brahmans acted as astrologers. He also tells us that the Brahmans ate food prepared by Siamese cooks and containing flesh, eggs and other articles which would have been an abomination to their ancestors. Anyhow he postulates a migration of South Indian Brahmans in the 15th century, long before the second known migration in the 18th century.

(9) *The Brahmanic Element in Siamese Laws.*

Siamese administrative laws and edicts are said to be deeply impressed with early Khmer influences, largely dating from the time of the reorganisation of the administrative system by king Paramatrailōkanātha, like the hierarchy laws of A.D. 1854. But the general principles of Siamese law seem to be Hindu. One

1. He brought out in 1693, *A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam.*

writer opines that the Mons and the Khmers were the sources from whom the Thais received most of their Indian culture and that the Mon-Burmese law represents a stage between Hindu law and Siamese law which is not directly derived from India, but by the medium of the Mon-Burmese forms.¹

A Pāli *Dharmaśāstra* was introduced into the land about A. D. 1344, and the king probably appointed a Brahman to help him in the interpretation of this imported system of law. After the Thai capture of Angkor Thom, Brahman jurists were imported from Cambodia, who were learned in Hindu law. Even in the Corpus of Siamese law, drawn up in 1805, compiled under the orders of King Rāma I of the Cākri dynasty of Bangkok, we are told that the object was only to restore the legislation that was in force in the Ayuthia period; and the first law-chapter is entitled Braḥ Dharmaśāstra; and the other law-texts that follow are, nearly all of them, intimately connected with it; and "through it with the legal system of ancient India. The 18 law-titles of the Code of Manu are present in the Siamese *Dharmaśāstra*, as well as "the seven classes of slaves, the classes of persons inadmissible as witnesses, and the recognition of the Hindu principle that interest ought never to exceed capital." Appropriate rubrics of the *Dharmaśāstra* are linked to the other law-chapters and to royal edicts, perhaps to ensure their continuity. It has been now proved that a Pāli *Dharmaśāstra* existed in Burma as early as the 12th century and was introduced into Siam in the Sukhōdaya period; and an inscription of 1344 A.D. contains both the terms, *Dharmaśāstra* and *Rājaśāstra*, consisting of royal decisions and edicts founded on particular cases. We further learn that an advisory body of Brahmans was constituted in the reign of king Paramatrailōkanātha to take care of the corpus of the law-texts. It was composed of twelve Brahman officials who were both learned in the *Dharmaśāstra* and cognizant of royal decrees and decisions; and the two senior members were the *Braḥ Mahārāja Grū Purohita* and the *Braḥ Mahārāja Grū Mahīdhara*. Before the time of this monarch, there prevailed ancient royal courts attached to the palace and administered by the Brahmans under the supervision of the king; these fell into disuse in the Bangkok period.

1, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, p. 176.

Thus the Siamese social and political organisation has been marked by a high degree of assimilative power which has enabled the adoption of those features of Hindu Brahmanic and Khmer cultures which the country found to be suitable to its needs. While the Siamese kings have been mainly Buddhist, they contrived to retain much of Brahmanic ritual in their court ceremonies and to surround themselves with "the paraphernalia of Hinduism."

KALAVU IN THE TOLKĀPPIYAM

BY

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A., PH.D., L.T.

Tolkāppiyaṇār says in the first sūtra of *kaḷaviyal* that, of the eight forms of marriage mentioned in Vedic scriptures, *kāma-k-kūṭṭam* or *kaḷavu* belongs to the type of *gāndharva*¹; and in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth sūtras he says that the last three belong to *kaikkilai*, the first four belong to *peruntinai* and the *gāndharva* has five places of action.²

Now arises the question whether the *kaḷavu* form mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār applies only to *vēḷāḷas* or to all the four castes.

In *Akattinaiyiyal* he mentions that *pirivu* or separation may take place on account of study, war, embassy and amassing of wealth.³ He then mentions the kinds of people who could take

1. காமக் கூட்டங் காணுங் காலை
மறையோர் தேளத்து மன்ற லெட்டனுட்
டுறையமை நல்லியாழ்த் துணைமையோ ரியல்பே.
(தொல். களவியல், 1.)
2. முன்னைய மூன்றுங் கைக்கிளைக் குறிப்பே. (கள. 14.)
பின்னர் நான்கும் பெருந்திணை பெறுமே. (கள. 15.)
முதலொடு புணர்ந்த யாழோர் மேன
தவலருஞ் சிறப்பி னைநிலம் பெறுமே. (கள. 16.)

The order of the eight forms of marriage taken here should be *brāhma*, *prājāpatya*, *ārṣa*, *daiva*, *gāndharva*, *āsura*, *rākṣasa* and *poiśāca* as is found in the *Gautamadharmasūtra*, and not as is found in the *Manusmṛiti* where the order of *āsura* and *gāndharva* is reversed. The five places of action are forest, mountain, desert, agricultural tract and sea-shore.

3. ஒதல் பகையே தூதிவை பிரிவே (அகத். 27.)
அவற்றுள்
ஒதலுந் தூது ழயர்ந்தோர் மேன (id. 28.)
தானே சேறலுந் தன்னொடு சிவணி
ஏனோர் சேறலும் வேந்தன் மேற்றே (id. 29.)

to the different kinds of separation. From the mention of the words *nālvarkkum*, *vēntaṇ*, *uyarntōr* and *pinṇōr* by Tolkāppiyānār here and that of the words *mēlōr mūlvarkkum* and *kīlōrkkū* in *karpiyal*,¹ it seems to me that the *kaḷavu* and the *karpu*² which he mentions apply to all the four castes.

What is *kaḷavu*? It is the union of lovers with reciprocated love without the knowledge of the lady-love's parents. *Karpu* is the ceremony performed to sanction the previous union, where the lady-love's parents may co-operate or may not.³

It has already been said that *kaḷavu* belongs to the *gāndharva* type. It has been mentioned in the *Gautamadharmasūtra*, the *Manusmṛti* etc., that the *gāndharva* form of marriage is *dharma* or righteous to all the four *varṇas*⁴. The *Kāmasūtra* mentions that, after their love is reciprocated, they may go round the nuptial fire thrice and then inform the lady-love's parents⁵.

மன்னர் பாங்கிற் பிண்ணோ ராகுப (id. 32.)

உயர்ந்தோர் பொருள்வயி னொழுக்கத் தான (id. 36.)

மேலோர் முறைமை நால்வர்க்கு முரித்தே (id. 51.)

1. மேலோர் மூலர்க்கும் புணர்த்த கரணம்

கீழோர்க் காகிய காலமு முண்டே (கற்பி. 3.)

Since the word *karpu* is equated with *கரணம்*, the word *kalpa* is used in the sense of *vidhāna* in *kṣātreṇa kalpena upaniya* (*Uttararāmacarita*), and *karaṇam* is used in the sense of *homa* in expressions like *agnau karaṇam*, it is evident that the word *karpu* is the *tadbhava* of *kalpa* through *karpaṃ*. Cf. *accam accu* (*Pari-pāṭal*).

2. The meaning of chastity to the word *karpu* seems to have been later.

3. கற்பனப் படுவது கரணமொடு புணரக்

கொளற்குரி மரபிற் கிழவன் கிழத்தியைக்

கொடைக்குரி மரபினோர் கொடுப்பக்கொள் வதுவே (கற்பி. 1.)

கொடுப்போ ரின்றியுங் கரண முண்டே (id. 2.)

4. चत्वारो धर्म्याः प्रथमाः ; षडित्येके (गौतमधर्मः, I, 4, 12-13)

षडानुपूर्व्या विप्रस्य क्षत्रस्य चतुरोऽवरान् ।

विद्यूद्रयोस्तु तानेव विद्याद्धर्म्यान्राक्षसान् ॥ (मनुस्मृतिः 3, 23)

5. प्रतिपन्नामभिप्रेतावकाशवर्तिनीं नायकः श्रोत्रियागारादग्निमानाथ कुशानास्तीर्थं यथास्मृतिं हुत्वा च त्रिः परिक्रमेत् । ततो मातरि पितरि च प्रकाशयेत् । अग्निसाक्षिका हि विवाहा न निवर्तन्त इत्याचार्यसमयः । दूषयित्वा चैनां शनैः स्वजने

From this it is evident that, wherever girls attain their maturity before marriage, it is possible to have the *kaḷavu* form of marriage. It was recognised to be righteous by Tolkāppiyāṇār¹ and also by the authors of the *Kāmasūtra* and *Dharmasūtras*. The commentators on Tolkāppiyam also hold the same view.² The author of the 39th stanza in *Kaliittokai* also is of the same opinion since he speaks of a lady who had *kaḷavu* form of marriage that she could make the clouds shower if she likes . . .
 * என்றோழி cf. அருமழை தரல்வேண்டிற் றரு
 கிற்கும் பெருமையளே.

प्रकाशयेत् । तद्वाधवाश्च यथा कुलस्याधं परिहरन्तो दण्डभयाच्च तस्मा एवैनां
 दद्युस्तथा योजयेत् । (कामसूत्रम् , III, 4, 11-15)

1. இன்பமும் பொருளு மறனு மென்றாங்கு (களவி. 1.)
 2. இவ்வொழுக்கங்கள் அறத்தின்வழி நிகழ்தலானும்.....களவென்
 றோதப்படுகின்ற ஒழுக்கம் அறம்பயலாத புறநெறியன்று. (இளம்.)
- களவொழுக்கம் பொதுவாகலின் நான்கு வருணத்தார்க்கும் ஆயர்
 முதலியோர்க்கும் உரித்து. (நச்.)

THE TRUE DATE OF BUDDHA

BY

K. G. SANKAR.

There is a tradition among Buddhists that Buddha died in 544 B.C., and that date is the epoch of the Buddha-varṣa. This tradition can be traced to the time of Sāhasamalla, King of Ceylon, whose Polonnaruva inscription dates his anointment in A.B. (after Buddha) 1743 years, 3 months and 27 days, on a Wednesday, Bhādrapada śukla dvādaśī (E. Müller: *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, no. 156). The details work out correctly to the 23rd August 1200 A.C.; and 3 months and 24 days is the exact interval between Bhādra śukla dvādaśī and Vaiśākha pūrṇimā, the traditional day of Buddha's death. The tradition cannot at present be traced back beyond 1200 A.C. But as the date is not historically impossible, it was accepted as correct by the earlier Orientalists. When, however, the Yavana kings mentioned in Aśoka's rock-edicts were identified with some successors of Alexander, who were ruling in C. 250 B.C., Max Müller, on the basis of the uniform Buddhist tradition which dated Aśoka's anointment in 218 A.B., inferred that the date of Buddha's death was 477 B.C., and not 544 B.C.; and though Goldstücker pointed out that the Buddhists were more likely to have remembered and handed down the date of Buddha's death rather than the correct interval between that event and Aśoka's anointment, Max Müller's views have prevailed with modern Orientalists, with, however, slight modifications (E. M. Subrahmaṇya Piḷḷai—493 B.C.; V. A. Smith—486 B.C.; J. F. Fleet—483 B.C.; L. D. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai—478 B.C.). This change of date for Buddha has led to other consequences. Jains, both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, had been unanimously dating Mahāvīra's death in 528 B.C. But as, from Buddhist scriptures, he is known to have been a contemporary of Buddha and of the Magadha kings Śreṇiya Bimbisāra and Kūṇika Ajātaśatru, and as both Buddha and Mahāvīra are believed to have died in Ajātaśatru's reign, Mahāvīra's death also had to be post-dated by about 60 years. Since these results are in conflict with Hindu and Jain chrono-

logy, modern Orientalists are inclined to discredit them in favour of Buddhist chronology. The object of this paper is to examine whether the Buddhist date for Aśoka's anointment is so infallible and Buddhist history and chronology in general so much more reliable as to warrant all these arbitrary assumptions and consequences, and to discover, if possible, the true date of Buddha.

If may be pointed out at the outset that the tradition regarding the interval between Buddha's death and Aśoka's anointment is not an independent tradition, but only the aggregate of the figures for the individual kings of Magadha in that period. It is moreover inconsistent with the evidence of Aśoka's own inscriptions. The meaning of the words "256 vuṭhena" in his minor rock-edict No. 1 is much disputed. But the evidence of Kauṭalya (*Arthaśāstra*, ii. 6) equating 'vyuṣṭa' with 'rājavarṣa' (era) is decisive; and 256 is evidently the year of the Buddhist era, especially as in this edict Aśoka confesses himself a Buddhist. Now, when this edict was engraved, Aśoka had been an upāsaka (lay disciple) for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ years; and, as he is stated in Buddhist tradition to have become a Buddhist in his 4th year, minor rock-edict No. 1 must be dated in his 6th year, and his anointment in 250 A. B. This inference is confirmed by the Kapileśvar inscription (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, p. 752), dated in his 20th year and 'vuṭha' 270. It is therefore certain that Aśoka was not anointed in 218 A. B. The date of 250 A. B. for Aśoka's anointment is in fair agreement with the evidence of the Purāṇas, which date Aśoka's anointment 251 to 273 years after that of Ajātaśatru, and of the Jain chronicles, which place Candragupta Maurya's accession in 215 A. M. (after Mahāvīra), as Buddha is said to have died in Ajātaśatru's 8th year, and Candragupta and Bindusāra to have ruled for 24 and 25 years respectively, just before Aśoka.

Modern scholars, however, including Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar and Dr. Pradhān, prefer to believe the Buddhist chronicles as comparatively sober and honest. But they are no more sober or honest than Hindu and Jain chronicles. They all belong to the same category, with Greek and Chinese chronicles, of genuine but uncritical tradition, recorded long after the events they refer to. Tradition is only the combined testimony of various persons, who may all be interested in handing down the truth, but who cannot all be competent to sift it and keep it pure and free from

exaggeration or distortion; and though all these chronicles may be honest, if not critical or even unprejudiced, not one of them is exclusively trustworthy, because of the corruptions inherent in all human testimony. That the Buddhist chronicles are no more worthy of implicit trust than Hindu or Jain chronicles will be clear from the statement of the *Mahāvamśa* (Chs. 2 and 4) that 5 kings in succession, beginning with Ajātaśatru, were all parricides and that the citizens of Magadha banished Nāgadāsaka, not when he in his turn had murdered his father, but after he had ruled for 24 years. Ajātaśatru is known indeed to have been a parricide from the *Jātakas* (Nos. 239, 283 and 492) and the *Dīgha Nikāya* (sutta 2). He is said to have imprisoned his father Bimbisāra and starved him to death, but afterwards expressed his repentance to Buddha. This fact is the nucleus round which the legend of a dynasty of parricides was spun. Śīśunāga has also been misplaced by the Buddhist chronicles, which make him a minister of Nāgadāsaka, who was anointed king, when his master had been banished. The *Purāṇas* make him, on the other hand, the first king and founder of the dynasty known after him as Śaiśunāga; and Bimbisāra could not have been, as modern scholars incline to believe, the first king of the dynasty, as the *Mahāvamśa* distinctly says that he was anointed by his own father, who must hence have been likewise a king.

Buddhist chronology is no more reliable than its history. This is clearly seen from a study of the early chronology of Ceylon, as developed in *Dīpavamśa* and *Mahāvamśa*. Paṇḍukābhaya, anointed when 37 years old, is said to have ruled for 60 years. Nay more, his sons are said to have ruled altogether for 80 years, not including 12 or 22 years for Sena and Guttaka, who usurped the throne before Asela, the last of the brothers, who must thus have died 92 or 102 years after his father's death. This period of 210 years at least for 3 generations of kings (average 70 years for a generation) has no parallel in the world's history. It is therefore unsafe to date the death of Buddha on the sole authority of the Buddhist chronicles.

We have seen already that Aśoka's anointment must be dated in 250 A. B. Now it is possible to fix the limits of Aśoka's anointment within a single decade. On the one hand, in his rock-edict No. 13, Aśoka refers to his missions of dharma in the countries of his Greek neighbours Anṭiyoka, Turamāya, Anṭikini,

Maga and Alikasundara. These have been rightly identified with Antiochus I of Syria (280-261 B. C.), Ptolemy II of Egypt (285-247 B. C.), Antigonus Gonatus of Macedon (276-239 B. C.), Magas of Cyrene (285-259 B. C.) and Alexander II of Epirus (272-255 B. C.). As it was only after his conquest of Kalinga in his 8th year that Aśoka abandoned conquest by force in favour of conquest by dharma (rock-edict No. 13), Aśoka's 8th year was not later than 259 B. C., when Magas died (*Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VII, p. 712), and consequently his anointment must be dated before 267 B. C. On the other hand, both Justin (*Historiae Philippicae*, XII, 8) and Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, Ch. 62) assert that Candragupta, before he became king, met Alexander in 326 B. C. Candragupta's accession therefore cannot date before 326 B. C. and Aśoka's anointment must date after 277 B. C. Aśoka's anointment may thus be fixed between 277 and 267 B. C., with the effect of dating Buddha's death between 527 and 517 B. C.

The higher limit here arrived at (527 B. C.) for the date of Buddha's death is confirmed by a study of the relations between Buddha and Mahāvīra. It is well known that they were contemporaries, and the traditional dates, 544 B. C. and 528 B. C., for their deaths would imply that Buddha died before Mahāvīra. But the evidence of the Buddhist canon (*Dīgha Nikāya*, suttānta 29; *Majjhima Nikāya*, sutta 104) clearly favours the view that Buddha died after, not before, Mahāvīra, and that the interval between the two events must have been short. When Buddha was in the Śākya village Sāmagāma, his disciples heard of Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta's death at Pāvā and the consequent schisms among the latter's disciples. They became naturally anxious lest the already existing differences of opinion among themselves should likewise develop into schisms on their own master's death. They therefore directly carried the news to Buddha, to get his advice as to what they themselves should do in case, as was feared, he should shortly die. Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta of the Buddhist texts is certainly identical with Mahāvīra, who died at Pāvā on Kārttika amāvāsyā (*Kalpasūtra*, tr. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, pp. 264-265), 605 years and 5 months before the Śaka era (Jinasena: *Harivaṃśa*, 783 A.C., Ch. 60, st. 83-88), that is, on the 22nd October 528 B.C. Buddha therefore must have died shortly after 528 B. C.

Alone among Orientalists, L.D. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai has based his date (478 B. C.) for Buddha's death on astronomical data relating to events in the life of Buddha (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 197-204). These data are found in the Burmese chronicle *Malla-liṅkara-wouttōu* (1773 A. C.), as translated by Bigandet in his *Life of Gaudama* (1880). The chronicle is no doubt of recent date, and the data, the week-days in particular, are not mentioned in earlier Buddhist chronicles. They could not have therefore been handed down by tradition from the days of Buddha himself. But in the first place the data are not astronomically impossible and work out correctly. They are therefore calculated, not merely haphazard, data. Again, they do not agree with the epoch of 544 B. C., as we should expect them to do, if they were calculated after 1200 A.C., when the Buddha-varṣa (544 B. C.) had come into use. It is therefore evident that the week-days were calculated before 1200 A. C. to suit the traditional tithis and nakṣatras relating to the various events of Buddha's life in years corresponding to a central event (Buddha's death), definitely dated by tradition. It is likewise clear that there must have been earlier authorities from which these data had been taken over by the Burmese chronicle, which in other details closely follows the *Jātaka* commentary. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the various events of Buddha's life are dated in years of an otherwise unknown Añjana era.

The astronomical data found in *Malla-liṅkara-wouttōu* are:—

1. Añjana era began on Sunday, Caitra śukla pratipad (Bigandet, Vol. I, p. 13);

2. Buddha was born in A.E. (Añjana era) 68, Friday, Vaiśākha Kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭhī, Viśākhā (*ibid.*, I. 47; II. 71-72);

3. Buddha left Kapilavāstu for the wilderness in A.E. 96 or 97, Monday, Āṣāḍha pūrṇimā, Uttara Āṣāḍha (*ibid.*, I. 62-63; II. 72);

4. Buddha attained sambodhi in A.E. 103, Wednesday, Vaiśākha pūrṇimā, before daybreak (*ibid.*, I. 97; II. 72-73);

5. Buddha's father Śuddhodana died in A.E. 107, Saturday, Śrāvaṇa pūrṇimā, at sunrise (*ibid.*, I. 208);

6. Buddha entered nirvāṇa (died) in A.E. 148, Tuesday, Vaiśākha pūrṇimā, Viśākhā, before daybreak (*ibid.* II. 69, 73);

7. New religious era started by Ajātaśatru after the first Buddhist council in A.E. 148 from Monday, Phālguna śukla pratipad (*ibid.*, II. 113).

Among these data, there is only one astronomically impossible datum. On the day of Buddha's birth, Viśākhā is said to have co-existed with Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭhī. But on Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭhī, the moon's longitude cannot be less than 240° (at 12° per tithi), while the longitude of Viśākhā is only 200° to 213° . The nakṣatra therefore of Buddha's birth cannot have been Viśākhā. The other data, however, are all astronomically possible and work out correctly. Viśākhā seems therefore to have been wrongly inserted among the data of Buddha's birth by a later author, ignorant of astronomy, who evidently believed that Buddha was born and died on the same nakṣatra days.

Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai was an eminent and ingenious astronomer. But he made the mistake of calculating by the apparent and not the mean motions of the sun and the moon. Apparent motions, however, came into vogue only with the extant *Sūrya Siddhānta* (10th century A.C.), and even later, mean motions continued in use side by side with apparent motions until Śrīpati (1039 A.C.) protested strongly against their continued use in his *Siddhānta-śekhara*, when they were finally given up. In making calculations for early times, therefore, we have to use only mean motions, but in view of the possibility that the astronomical data of Buddha's life were calculated in the transition period, I have calculated by both mean and apparent motions, using the ephemerides of Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai's *Panchāṅg and Horoscope*, in deriving dates suitable to the given data.

I have tested every year between 544 B.C. and 477 B.C. as a possible epoch of Buddha's death. I found six years to satisfy the given data for Buddha's death alone, that is, 542, 525, 515, 501, 498 and 484 B.C. But among them all, only one date, 525 B.C. yields dates to suit the data of the other events in Buddha's life. But as Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai claimed that the true date of Buddha's death was 478 B.C., I have worked out all the details for both the dates, and the results are discussed below.

With the epoch of 525 B.C. the Añjana era began on Sunday, 14th February 673 B.C., on which day Caitra śukla pratipad ended at 19 of the day. On Friday, 1st April 605 B.C.

(A.E. 68), the day of Buddha's birth, Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa śaṣṭhī ended at ·63 of the day. On Monday, 13th June 577 B.C. (A.E. 96), the day on which Buddha left Kapilavāstu, Āṣāḍha pūrṇimā, which ended at ·90 of the day co-existed at midnight with Uttara Āṣāḍha, which began at ·38 of the same day. On Wednesday, 29th March 570 B.C. (A.E. 103), the day on which Buddha attained sambodhi, Vaiśākha pūrṇimā, which began at ·48 of the day, was current shortly before daybreak. On Saturday, 10th July 566 B.C. (A.E. 107), the day on which Śuddhodana died, Śrāvaṇa pūrṇimā began at ·61 of the day and was therefore current at sunrise before the next day began. On Tuesday, 10th April 525 B.C. (A.E. 148), the day of Buddha's death, Vaiśākha pūrṇimā, which began at ·03 of the day, co-existed with Viśākhā, which began at ·25 of the same day, shortly before daybreak. Lastly, on Monday, 29th January 525 B.C. (A.E. 148), the day on which the new religious era began, Phālguna śukla pratipad ended at ·17 of the day. It will be thus readily seen that the epoch of 525 B.C. and the other dates derived from it agree perfectly in their details with the given astronomical data.

The case is otherwise with Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai's epoch of 478 B.C. In the first place, with this epoch, the Añjana era began on Sunday, 5th March 626 B.C., Caitra śukla pratipad having been current the whole day. But the corresponding date for Buddha's birth would be Thursday, not Friday as required, 10th April 557 B.C., as Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa śaṣṭhī ended at ·81 of the same day, and the year would be A.E. 69, not A.E. 68 as required. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai has therefore substituted Vaiśākha pūrṇimā for the given tithi, following the *Dīpavaṃśa* (ch. 21), and he finds a suitable date for it in Friday, 4th April 557 B.C. But we have to follow the data of the Burmese chronicle and not the *Dīpavaṃśa*, which gives no week days, as the week days were evidently specially calculated to suit the tithi and nakṣatra as given in the Burmese chronicle. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai's date for Buddha's renunciation (22nd June 529 B.C.) requires us to suppose that it happened on Sunday night and not on Monday, as clearly stated in the chronicle, as Āṣāḍha pūrṇimā ended at ·07 of the next day (23rd June) and Uttara Āṣāḍha ended at ·91 of the same day (22nd June). The date for Buddha's sambodhi (8th April 522 B.C.) would be in A.E. 104, not A.E. 103, and as Vaiśākha pūrṇimā ended at ·64 of the day, the actual tithi at the

time of sambodhi (a little before daybreak) would be kṛṣṇa pratipad, not pūrṇimā. The date for Śuddhodana's death (20th July 518 B.C.) would be in A.E. 108, not A.E. 107, though it was a Saturday, and Śrāvaṇa pūrṇimā began at .78 of the day. Even with regard to the central event of Buddha's death, Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai's date (Tuesday, 1st April 478 B.C.) fails to satisfy, as by mean motion, Viśākhā began only at .25 of the next day, though Vaiśākha pūrṇimā was current from .29 of the 1st April. Finally, as Phālguna śukla pratipad ended at .43 of Sunday, 19th January 478 B.C., the week day of the new religious era was not Monday as required. We thus find that the epoch of 478 B.C. fails to yield satisfactory dates for any event of Buddha's life. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai has himself noticed most of these discrepancies. But he has tried to explain them away by assuming the data to be incorrect whenever they disagreed with his dates, instead of finding other dates to suit the given data.

We may therefore safely conclude that 525 B.C. is the only epoch for Buddha's death between 544 and 477 B.C., which satisfies completely all the given astronomical data, and, as this date falls within the limits (527 to 517 B.C.) indicated by literary and historical evidence, that it is the true and exact date of Buddha's death, until at least definite evidence to the contrary is forthcoming.

SOME WORDS DENOTING RELATIONSHIP IN THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

BY

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There is a peculiar system in the Dravidian languages by which some pronominal bases are prefixed to words denoting family relationship with no change of meaning. The words 'Eṅgai' 'Naṅgai' 'Nuṅgai', 'Taṅgai' and 'Maṅgai' appear to have been formed from the same word 'Kai' to which the pronominal fragments 'En', 'Nan', 'Nun', 'Tan' and 'Man' are prefixed. The first four words mean 'sister' in Tamil, and the last means a woman. The five prefixes split up above are undoubtedly pronominal in origin, and the last of them clearly shows a semantic divergence from the rest. The word 'Taṅgai' exists in Canarese in the form 'Taṅge', meaning sister. There are also other words formed in a similar way as 'Eṇbi', 'Nambi', 'Tambi'; all of them mean brother in Tamil, and some of them like 'Tamma' - Canarese (brother) and 'Tammuḍu' - Telugu (brother) are current in the other dialects with absolutely no semantic change and with only a little of phonetic change. The word 'Akka' occurs in Telugu, which means an elder sister, and I think it reasonable to explain it as having been derived by prefixing a demonstrative base 'a' to the word 'Kai' as split up above. The words 'Tandai', Tamil (father), Canarese - *Tande*, and Telugu - *Tandri* appear to have been related to the word 'Tāy' mother (Tamil and Canarese) in the same way as the forms analysed above are related to each other. The above examples clearly show that some cases exist where there have been semantic changes. Almost all the examples referred to by me were noticed by Dr. Caldwell in his 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages', pp. 395-402, Revised Edition 1913.

When studied as an extension of this principle I find that some of the words which denote relationship (family) appear to have undergone some semantic changes in the various Dravidian

dialects both with and without the prefixing of pronominal fragments.

'Magan' (Tamil) son Tamil (husband) (Tamil Lexicon)	}	(Canarese) 'Maganu' - son.
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In Telugu this word has undergone a change and assumed the form 'Magaḍu' or 'Magaṇḍu'. The earlier form is 'Maganṇu' and is identical with the form in Tamil. But it means only the husband at present and the meaning 'son' has entirely gone out of use. The Śabdaratnākara, a standard Telugu Dictionary, does not give the meaning 'son' to this word. The word 'Magan' has *in usage* not the meaning of husband either in Tamil or Canarese. As shown by the Tamil Lexicon, the word existed with both the meanings in the early stage and one dialect specialised in one, whereas the other dialect specialised in the other.

The word 'Aṇṇan' - means elder brother in Tamil. Telugu - 'anna'. Canarese 'aṇṇa', Malayālam 'aṇṇan', Tulu 'Aṇṇe'. The word 'aṇṇa' is said to have the meaning of 'father' in colloquial usage in Tamil - (Tamil Lexicon). Canarese people also call the father 'aṇṇa'. The Telugu people address the father as 'Nānna' or 'Nāyana' and these two words are compounds of 'Na + anna' or 'Nā + ana' (a form of 'anna'). 'Nā' is a pronominal prefix meaning 'my'. The word 'amma' in Telugu means mother and 'Māmma' means grand-mother or father's mother as distinguished from 'ammamma' mother's mother. Here the semantic change has been accompanied by the prefixing of the pronominal base 'mā'. Another expression used to denote the father's mother is 'Nānnamma' or 'Nāyanamma' which is evidently a compound derived from 'Nānna + amma' or 'Nāyana + amma'. The word 'Tāta' in Sanskrit means father as is shown by the Amarakośa 'Tātastu janakaḥ pitā'. The same word 'Tāta' if regularly brought into Telugu ought to be 'Tātuḍu' but that form is nowhere used. The word 'Tāta' in Telugu means grand-father, —father's father or mother's father; and I have no doubt that this word must have been the same as the Sanskrit one with a semantic change. The word 'Kōḍalu' in Telugu means a daughter-in-law, and Brown's Telugu Dictionary, page 325, gives two meanings: "A daughter-in-law, also a wife, Bhāryā; 'Mā kōḍalu' = 'Mā Bhāryā'". A number of village folk even to-day use the word in this sense; and this sense which is not

familiar to the classes, makes them question the user what exactly the meaning of the word is, as the only meaning 'son's wife' known to them does not fit in with the context. The word '*kōḍalu*' appears to be a compound of two words '*Kōḍa* + *ālu*' or '*alu*' as in '*maradalu*' and '*cellelu*'. *Kōḍa* (or *Koḍa*) appears to mean tenderness, or youth, (Kittel's Canarese Dictionary, Page 483). As such in origin it means 'young wife'. The counterpart of the above usage may be found in the way in which a wife speaks of the husband. In those classes in which it has been represented that the wife is addressed as '*Kōḍalu*' the husband is spoken of or referred to by the wife as '*māma*'. '*Māma*' is the word which denotes an uncle or father-in-law. In the higher classes, to distinguish between the two senses, the father-in-law is spoken of as '*māma-gāru*'. The last portion '*gāru*' is only an honorific and is clearly a latter addition.

As has already been shown, some of these pronominal prefixes do not bring in a semantic change, and Dr. Caldwell is of opinion that these are merely honorific, which seems probable. Another explanation also appears to be possible. These pronominal prefixes might have been added in their original and usual significance, *e.g.* '*amma*' mother, and '*māmma*' our mother, to distinguish the mothers of others, and the compound might have been afterwards extended back to its original general signification of mother. Such instances are not lacking in Telugu. '*Abbāyi*'—a boy, '*Ammāyi*' - a girl, and '*Sitāyi*' - Sita, possess a suffix '*āyi*' which is nothing but the vocative '*ay*' (ōy) with '*i*' for enunciation and the vocative forms afterwards came to be used as the nominatives. The various honorifics that were once used have to-day become part and parcel of the names.

Now the most important task of explaining the semantic changes that have taken place in the words mentioned above remains. It can be seen that all those changes appear to have been due to one and the same cause, *viz.* the family relationship of the individual members in olden days amongst the Dravidians. If we can prove by other independent evidence or authority, that in the ancient Dravidian family, there were circumstances which must necessarily have led to the confusion or identification of the relationship above pointed out, the answer is given. The semantic transition may be grouped as follows:—

' <i>Anna</i> '	' <i>Nānna</i> '	<i>Tāta</i>	= <i>Tāta</i>
Elder brother	= Father	Father	= Grand-father
' <i>Amma</i> '	= <i>Māmma</i>		
Mother	= Grand-mother	<i>Magan</i>	= <i>Magandu</i>
' <i>Kōḍalu</i> '		Son	= Husband
Daughter-in-law	= Wife	<i>Māma</i>	= <i>Māma</i>
	<i>Kōḍalu</i>	Father-in-law	= Husband.
	as (<i>mā Kōḍalu</i>)		

All these changes appear to have been the result of a custom, which must have been widely prevalent in the Dravidian tribes, of the father marrying an older girl than his son to him and thereafter taking up the duties of the minor husband on himself until he comes of age. Traces of this custom appear to have existed till very recently, though I cannot say that they exist to-day.

The following extracts from the District Gazetteers form authoritative evidence as to the existence of the practice mentioned above, at least once upon a time.

"A sūdra custom in Koimbatore By J. D.

A father marries a grown-up girl 18 or 20 years old, to his son, a boy of seven or eight, after which he publicly lives with his daughter-in-law until the youth attains his majority when his wife is made over to him, generally with half a dozen children. These children are taught to address him as their father. In several cases this woman becomes the common wife of the father and the son. She pays every respect due to her wedded husband and takes great care of him from the time of her marriage".¹

"They (the marriages) take place after puberty, the male being about 20 and the girl about 15; the only exception is when a boy of 7 or 8 is occasionally married to a maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter of perhaps 16 or 18 in order to avoid losing so specially proper a relationship for marriage; in this case it is said that the boy's father is the *de facto* husband. But this barbarous and objectionable custom is more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and is hardly practised, though it is alleged that it can be enforced by appeal to the community, and that upon any objection, the boy's mother is entitled (to threaten) to drown herself in a well, or (as is not unfrequently

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, p. 32.

the case) she will incite her friends to tie a 'tāl' on the girl by fraud or force.¹

"The rule that a man can claim the hand of his paternal aunt's daughter in marriage is enforced with a rigour which sometimes leads to curious complications.

The idea underlying this last custom appears to be the feeling that a woman is bound to replace the loss to her father's family occasioned by her marrying out of it, by returning one of her daughters to that family. The simplest way of making the restoration is to marry her daughter to her brother's son. But if the brother has no son he can still demand that the girl be restored to his side of the family and can require that she shall marry some other boy belonging thereto. This latter alternative is adopted in some castes where the age of the girl is much greater than that of the mother's brother's son, but in others custom requires that the latter shall marry her however old she may be, and the result is naturally the subversion of all the ordinary rules of morality."²

Kunnuvans. These are the principal cultivating caste on the Palni hills. They speak Tamil.

"The claim of a man to his paternal aunt's daughter is rigidly maintained and the evasions of the rule allowed by other castes when the ages of the parties are disproportionate are not permitted. Consequently a boy sometimes marries more than one of these cousins of his, and until he reaches manhood those of them who are much older than he is, live with the other men of the caste, the boy being the nominal father of any children that may be born. A boy of nine or ten may thus be the putative father of a child of two or three."³

Tottiyans.—The only Telugu caste which is characteristic of the district is that of the Tottiyans. Centuries ago, they say, they migrated to this district.

Among these people "Marriage is either infant or adult. A man has the usual claim to his paternal aunt's daughter and so rigorously is this rule followed that boys of tender years are

1. *Manual of the Coimbatore District*, (p. 58) 1887.

2. *The Gazetteer of the Madura District*, Vol. I, pp. 87-88 (1906).

3. *Madura District Gazetteer*, p. 103.

frequently married to full-grown women. These latter are allowed to consort with the husband's near relations and the boy is held to be the father of any children which may be born."¹

"Of the Canarese-speaking castes of this district, two, the Kāppiliyans and Anuppans, are worth a note."

"A man's right to marry his paternal aunt's daughter is so rigorously insisted upon, that, as among the Toṭṭiyans, ill-assorted matches are common. A woman whose husband is too young to fulfil the duties of his position is allowed to consort with his near relations and the children so begotten are treated as his."²

"The right of a man to the hand of his paternal aunt's daughter is as rigorously maintained as among the Kāppiliyans and the Toṭṭiyans; and leads to the same curious state of affairs. A bride price, as usual, is paid."³

"The Malayālis observe the rule of 'mēnarikam' with unusual rigour and curious results. An inconvenience inherent in the "Mēnarikam system" is that sometimes the 'Urimai' girl is a good deal older than the husband allotted to her fate by custom. Hence it sometimes happens that 'sons when mere children are married to mature females and the father-in-law of the bride assumes the performance of the procreative function,' and raises up a progeny on his son's behalf. 'When the putative father comes of age and in their turn his wife's male offspring are married, he performs for them the same office that his father did for him.' If the boy-husband's father is dead, or is not particularly fond of his daughter-in-law, one of his brothers or some other near male relative may be requisitioned to take charge of the girl."⁴

Now that the quotations given above appear to confirm the existence of such a habit in at least some of the Dravidian tribes talking the four cultivated dialects, viz. Tamil, Telugu, Canarese and Malayalam, I feel that the linguistic evidence shown above goes to prove that the habit must have been widely prevalent in the past ages. There is no evidence so far as I could gather to state that the above mentioned habit exists to-day or existed in

1. *Madura District Gazetteer*, pp. 106-107.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

3. *Ibid.*, *The Anuppans*, p. 109.

4. *Gazetteer of the Salem District*, p. 157.

the recent past in the Telugu country also, and the intimate touch the Telugus had with the Āryan civilisation is responsible for its disappearance in the Telugu country earlier than in the farther south. The south always prided in maintaining the integrity of the past tradition (Dravidian), though even there the disappearance of this custom in the modern age has to be traced to the influence of the Āryan civilisation at a later stage.

The influence of Sanskrit language and Sanskrit culture on the Telugu language and literature is certainly much greater than on Tamil and its literature, and in more ways than one it can be proved that the nearness of Sanskrit culture has influenced the Telugu people more than it has affected the Tamilians as a race.

Now it is easy to imagine how the semantic confusion could have been possible in the early stages in such a family. But I shall explain it for clearness. For a child born in such a family the eldest son of the family is a father as well as a brother, because he is his real father's son, and the husband of his mother. So has arisen the confusion between, '*Anna*' and '*Nānna*'. The young wife is at the same time a young wife to the father and a wife to his son, and as such the word '*Kōḍalu*' came to mean both a wife and a son's wife. The young wife is again a mother and a grand-mother to the child, because she is not only his mother but also his grand-father's wife. Hence the confusion between '*amma*' and '*māmma*.' Again the grand-father and father are identical in the old man of the house and hence the semantic change of '*tāta*' from father to grand-father. The confusion between the senses of son and husband is also easily explained in the above condition because the husband to the young wife is not only a husband but also a son being the son of her virtual husband, and being much younger than herself.

All the changes are explained in the above manner, but it may be pointed out that though not so easily and directly yet in a round-about way explanations may be offered for these semantic deviations and specialisations. The existence of this practice in the tribes has been established, I feel, by the quotations presented above, and the corroboration afforded by the linguistic forms does not appear to be a matter of chance. A lot of evidence, I think, has already been adduced by the Orientalists as to the individuality of the Dravidians as distin-

guished from the Āryans and this piece of evidence also goes to strengthen the conclusions already established.

In this connection, the story of Sāraṅgadhara and Citrāṅgī, said to have occurred in the time of Rājarājanarēndra, is worth mentioning, as it can be interpreted to have something to do with this practice. Rājarājanarēndra had a son named Sāraṅgadhara who was very handsome, and a princess called Citrāṅgī was selected as wife to the young man. This was done, after the likeness of the young man was shown in a picture to the bride. But after the old man saw the likeness of the girl in a drawing, he himself wanted to marry her and did actually marry her under the pretence of marrying her to his son. When she actually came to live with her husband she found that she was deceived and she longed to have the object of her love brought near her. The man was one day brought by chance to her palace where she is said to have compelled him to treat her as his wife but the young man was adamant as she was a mother to him. She, not being able to bring him round, thought of revenge and reported to her husband that his son was a source of trouble to her, he having tried to seduce her. This enraged the father and he cut off the legs and hands of the son. Later on, a Siddha came that way, and having understood the innocence of the young man by celestial sight, (Divyadr̥ṣṭi) made his limbs grow by a mysterious process. There is absolutely no historic evidence as to the existence of Sāraṅgadhara and it must undoubtedly have been a myth. That this myth is authenticated and probably believed to be true in the Telugu country can be proved by two independent sources. This story has been written in the verse form by Chēmākūra Veṅkaṭakavi, a poet who lived in the time of the Nāyaka Kings of Tanjore, (1614-33) in the first quarter of the 17th century, but his version is slightly different.

Appakavi who is supposed to have lived in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 17th century refers to the story of Sāraṅgadhara in his grammar where he states that Sāraṅgadhara became an immortal Siddha and handed over the Telugu Vyākaraṇa written by Nannayya Bhaṭṭa and learnt by him by rote, in the year 'Kīlaka' (1656-7).

All this proves that the story was current in the Telugu country and that it was a myth. If it were a myth, why was it

created at all? There is clearly a didactic purpose in it, that the son should have nothing to do with the woman whom the father was living with as a *de facto* husband. The story must have been created some time after the 11th century, *i.e.* after Rājarājanarēndra, by some who saw the clash and incongruousness of both the Āryan and Dravidian systems. According to the practice that was held up by the story as moral, if the old father was living with a woman as his second wife, the son after he grows up shall have nothing to do with the woman though she was originally fixed up for him and she should be left alone as his father's second wife. This would be a happy solution and probably this is what is aimed at by the author of this story. I feel that there is an intimate connection between the habit referred to by me above, and this story. By itself the story may lead us to nothing, but when read together with all the other evidence it appears to fit in with the explanation.

There is another story (the story of Kuṇala) which appears to be similar to the myth of Sāraṅgadhara current in India in the 7th century. Cf. Buddhist records of the western world by Beal (Trubner's Oriental series) page 139 (Vol. I). Though this story is different from the episode of Sāraṅgadhara in details, still the principle involved in both is the same and both are myths. It appears to me that this might have also been intended to discourage incestuous relationship.

A direct discouragement of this Dravidian habit in the Telugu country must have started about or after the time of Rājarājanarēndra by the upholders of Āryan institutions.

I may once more state that this adds to the evidence already adduced to prove that the Dravidian culture and languages are distinct from the Āryan languages and culture in origin.

NOTES ON THE ANCIENT POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTH INDIA

BY

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, M.A.

[Attempts have been made by scholars to reconstruct the early political geography of India. Lassen, Cunningham, Pargiter and Macrindle sought to elucidate the early geography of India from data available from the Purāṇas, the Epics and the accounts of foreign travellers. Since the advances made in Archeology in India, began the systematic utilisation of epigraphical data for purposes of historical reconstruction and with it the attempt to correlate these data with the evidence from classical and Purāṇic literature on the ancient geography of India. Apart from this effort to explain classical and purāṇic geography, epigraphists like Hultzsch, Rice and Fleet tried to identify the geographical names occurring in inscriptions with their modern representatives and thus helped to build up a knowledge relating to the early political divisions of India and their nomenclature. Among the notable contributions to the study since their time may be mentioned those of P. V. Kane: *Ancient Geography and Civilisation of Mahārāṣṭra* (J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXIV (1917) p. 616-21); S. N. Muzumdar: *Introduction and Notes to Cunningham's Ancient Geography*; B. C. Law: *Geography of Early Buddhism*. In view of the importance of the subject and the increased material, mainly epigraphical, that is now available, I propose to follow up their studies and, on the lines adopted by Fleet in his notes on Indian History and Geography (I. A. Vols. 30-2), to publish, in the form of 'Notes on the ancient political geography of South India' the results of my investigations. The studies are confined to South India only.]

1. AŚMAKA.

According to the Sūtra of Pāṇini¹ the term Aśmaka was the common form employed to denote a people, their country and also their king and consequently it becomes easier to locate Aśmaka with the aid of the numerous references to it in the Sanskrit and Buddhist literatures and in the early inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas. From the available evidence it is known that it was a country watered by the river Gōdāvarī with its capital at Pōtana or Pōtali². It is found associated with Muḷaka both in inscriptions and in literature. From the order in which the

1. IV. I. 173.

2. Jātakas: II No. 207 (Assaka Jātaka); III, pp. 3 and 5; *vide* article on the Muḷakas by Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstrī, Q. J. M. S., XXI, p. 62. B. C. Law: *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 21-2.

kingdoms ruled over by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is mentioned in the Nāsik cave inscription it is possible to infer that the Aśmaka country lay adjacent to Muḷaka¹. The Suttanipāta² makes this clearer by stating that the capital of Muḷaka was Paṭṭhan and that the Aśmaka country was situated immediately to its south along the river Gōdāvarī. Therefore the Aśmaka country is to be located somewhere in the regions of the Gōdāvarī to the south or, more correctly, south-east of Paṭṭhan, the position of which is well known.

The capital of Aśmaka is known to be Pōtana, a city as famous as Dantapura of Kāṣṭhā in Buddhist literature, for both the cities were supposed to have been the creation of Mahā-gōvinda³. The Mahābhārata mentions Paudana as the capital of Prince Aśmaka. Paudana is a variant of Pōtana and the prince takes his name after the country. It is on the identification of this city in the modern maps that the exact location of Aśmaka depends.

A city of the name Bōdana is mentioned by the Canarese poet Pampa (940 A. D.) in his Bhārata or Vikramārjunavijaya, a work dedicated to the Cālukya chief Arikēśarin II.⁴ The city is also referred to in an inscription of the same monarch at

1. Nāsik cave inscription. A. S. W. I. IV, p. 108, l. 2.

2. Suttanipāta, Pāli Text Society V. Pārayanavagga v.v. 976-7 and 1010 and 1011. These verses state that Baveru, a Brahman coming from Kōsala settled in Assaka on the Gōdāvarī in Dakṣiṇāpatha adjacent to Muḷaka. From Assaka he sent his pupils northwards first to Paṭṭhan in Muḷaka, thence to Mahissati and Ujjain etc. The verses read:—

1010. Bāvarim abhivādetvā Katvācaṇam padakkiṇam|
jaṭājinadharāsabbe pakkāmaṃ Uttarāmukhā||

1011. Muḷakassa Patitṭhānam purimam Māhissatim tadā|
Ujjeniñ cāpi Gonaddham Vedisam vanasahvayam||

3. Mahāvastu III, 208, 209. Dīghanikāya II 235, translated in Dialogues of Buddha, II, 270.

Dantapuram Kāṣṭhānam Assakā nañ ca Potanam
Māhissatī Avantīnam Sovīrānañ ca Rorukam

.....
.....etc. Govindamāpitāti.

4. Pampa: Bhārata I, vv. 16-7; edited by the Department of Public Instruction, Mysore.

Vēmulavāḍa,¹ a place situated in the Karīmṇagar district of the Nizam's dominions. From the information relating to the city and the country of its situation afforded by Pampa and the Vēmulavāḍa inscription it is possible to locate the city and identify it with Pōtana of Aśmaka.

Pampa states that Bōdana was situated in the Sapādalakṣa country ruled over by the Cālukya chief Yuddhamalla I, the first of the dynasty of his patron, Arikēsarin II. The verse in Pampa Bhārata seems to state that Yuddhamalla I bathed in the big tanks intended for royal elephants at Bōdana filling them with fragrant oil. This fact is repeated with slight variations of poetic fancy in the Vēmulavāḍa inscription, which, in fact, gives almost the same account, even in regard to historical details, of the genealogy of the king as that given by Pampa, thus imparting a genuineness to Pampa's account. It does not take us long to locate the Bōdana of these references, for in the district of Nizāmabād, which lies adjacent to the Karīmṇagar district, to the west, is found a place called Bōdhan, situated a few miles south of the river Gōḍāvarī and rich in antiquities of early date². That this was the place meant by Pampa is confirmed by a detail mentioned in an inscription of the Cālukya King Trailōkyamalla (1056 A. D.) at the very place³. The record, after referring itself to the reign of Trailōkyamalla, relates that the Indranārāyaṇa temple erected at the capital Bōdhan by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Indravallabha having gone to ruin, Perggaḍa Jōgapayya, a servant of Āhavamalla renovated the temple in Ś. 978 (1056 A. D.). The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, as suggested by Narasimhācārya, is very probably Indra III (915-17 A. D.) for the reason that one of his generals

1. Bhārati, Vol. VIII, p. 260, text lines 13-15; Teliṅgāṇa ins., p. 173. The inscription which has been edited twice, requires a thorough re-reading. Line 13 ought to be read,

"Yarpōdanē Soudhamyigajānām

Vidhāya vāpimapi tailapūraiḥ" etc. thus giving us the reference to Pōdana and to the tanks of the elephants.

2. Lat. 18° 50' long 77° 53', lying about 200 miles S. E. of Paithan.

3. R. Narasimhācārya; Bōdhan stone inscription of Trailōkyamalla; Hyd. Arch. Series, No. 7.

Cālukya Narasimha who was associated with him in his campaigns against the Gūrjaras and Mahīpāla of Kanouj belonged to the family of the Cālukya chiefs described by Pampa, being the father of Arikēśarin II¹, whose common ancestor Yuddhamalla I had Bōdana for his capital. These chiefs, for generations, appear to have been hereditary feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. Of the members of this family Arikēśarin I was the feudatory of Nirupamadēva Dhruva² (c. 780-94 A. D.) and Arikēśarin II that of Gōvinda IV (c. 715-935 A. D.) and Amōghavarṣa Baddega³. Again the son of Arikēśarin II, Vāgarāja was the *sāmanta* of Kṛṣṇa III (939-68 A. D.) as mentioned in the

1. Altekar: Rāṣṭrakūṭas p. 102: Pampa Bhārata I vv. 26-9. This campaign finds an echo in Kṣēmēndra's drama Caṇḍakauśikam, a verse in the prologue of which states that Mahīpāla, in whose presence the drama was enacted, established himself at Kanouj after driving away the Karṇāṭas. The Karṇāṭas appear to be the army of Narasimha who were subsequently driven away by Mahīpāla and his allies. The Cālukyas and their armies are generally termed Karṇāṭas, as *e.g.* the Sāmangaḍ plates of Danti-durga (I. A. XI P, III) refer to the army of the Vallabha Kīrtivarman II as the Karṇāṭaka army. This identification would thus lend support to the position taken up by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in respect of the date of Caṇḍakauśikam. (*Coḷas I*, p. 287-8).

2. Fleet D. K. D. p. 380-1: Depending on the Bibliotheca Carnatica edition of Pampa Bhārata, a faulty edition, Fleet stated that Arikēśarin I invaded the kingdom of Nirupama Dhruva with the ministers of Vēṅgi; and Altekar (*Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 51) sees in this a confirmation of the civil war between Nirupama Dhruva and his elder brother Gōvinda. But from the improved edition of the work now available it is found that the verse relating to Nirupama conveys no such meaning. In truth, it seems to say that in the reign of Nirupama, Arikēśarin conquered Vēṅgi and Trikaḷiṅga, the two together, and caused his name to be written at the ends of the directions. There is thus, no enmity suggested between Nirupama and Arikēśarin, but on the other hand, Arikēśarin effected the conquests as a feudatory of the former.

3. Altekar p. 107-8: Pampa Bhārata canto IX prose passage after v. 52 states that Arikēśarin caused the downfall of Gōvinda IV who was vicious and offered the throne to his uncle Amōghavarṣa III Baddega, he being content to remain the foremost of feudatories.

colophon of Yaśastilaka of Sōmadēva, a work composed under his patronage. The close alliance that existed between them and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas makes it fairly certain that Bōdhan in the Nizāmabād district, where Indra III built a temple, was the Bōdana mentioned by Pampa. Vēmulaṅṇa where Arikēśarin II's inscription is found is not far removed from Bōdhan as it lies in the adjacent district. From the description of Bōdhan as being "strewn with a large number of old Jaina and Brāhmanical sculptures, having three large tanks in the north, east and south and with a line of fortifications consisting of thick mud walls which run round the city", given by Narasimhācārya, it may be inferred that Bōdana reached to a greater antiquity than the 8th century A.D., the probable date when Yuddhamalla ruled there.

In regard to its situation, Pampa and the Vēmulaṅṇa inscription both agree in stating that Bōdana was situated in the Sapādalakṣa country ruled over by Yuddhamalla I. Now, in the commentary of Yaśastilaka, a work the importance of which for historical purposes is easily recognised, Śrutadēvasūri commenting on Aśmantaka occurring in the text equates it with Sapādalakṣanivāsin¹. Though the date of the commentator is not known the information given is trustworthy. Bōdana or the modern Bōdhan being a city of great antiquity in Sapādalakṣa, a country which is equated with the Aśmaka country, it stands to reason that it was the same as Pōtana of the Aśmakas mentioned in Buddhist literature. Not only is great antiquity testified to by the ancient remains at the place, but its very name and situation make its identification as the capital of the Aśmaka country certain. It lies south-east of Paiṭhan in the same valley of the Gōdāvarī, thus tallying with the statement of the Suttanipāta that the Aśmaka lay along the R. Gōdāvarī, south of Muḷaka, of which Patihāna was the capital.

The location of the Aśmaka country in the Nizāmabād and the adjacent districts of the Nizam's dominions with its capital Pōtana represented by the modern Bōdhan bears out all the details relating to the country recorded in inscriptions and literature, and excavations at Bōdhan, one can be sure, will confirm the identification of one of the oldest cities of ancient India.

1. Yaśastilaka I vv. 207-8: Commentry on.

No definite idea can be had at the present of the limits of the Aśmaka country as the epigraphical information relating to it is so scanty. The Jātaka stories, especially the Cullakaliṅga Jātaka, which describes the fight between the king of Kaṭiṅga and king Aruṇa of Assaka, seems to imply that the Aśmaka borders touched the western borders of Kaṭiṅga in which case it might be said that the Gōdāvarī which runs in an almost southerly direction on the eastern borders of the Nizam's dominions was probably Aśmaka's eastern boundary. But much depends on the epigraphical survey of the Nizam's Dominions and further identification of some of the territories that were under the rule of the Sātavāhanas, more especially of Asika¹, which forms the first of the three kingdoms Asika, Asaka and Muḷaka mentioned in Sātavāhana inscriptions.

1. In the Hatigumpha inscription the Kaṭiṅga king Khāravēla without taking into account king Sātakarni is stated to have caused a large army to move towards the Western quarter and strike terror into Asikanagara. This would indicate that they were adjacent territories.

VĀLMĪKI, HIS MIND AND ART

BY

T. R. RAMAKRISHNA SASTRI, M.A., B.L.

Among the ornate poems in Sanskrit, the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki holds the first and foremost place, both by intrinsic worth and by priority of date. Its importance and permanence have been enhanced and ensured by its illustrious hero and its exalted subject-matter. The sublimity of its theme and thought and its beautiful and forceful expression are indices of the master-mind which produced it under divine inspiration.

Several views have been held regarding the purport of the Rāmāyaṇa. To some it has been an allegorical representation of the Āryan conquest of the South of India and to others a picture of the spread of Āryan culture to the South and Ceylon. It is in another view, based on Indian mythology, the traces of which could be seen in the Veda. It has also been considered an illustration of self-dedication to God as the means of salvation of mankind. The philosopher has also read into it the science of the Soul.

This poem appeared in an epoch-making form, new and distinct from those in existence prior to the date of its origin, and was consequently styled "Ādi-kāvya", the first poem. Its form became the ideal for the future—not only its metrical setting, but also its thought and method. The standard for the later Kāvya—classical poetry—was set by this earliest poem, and later rhetoricians have emphasised the importance of the purport of the Kāvya as one of the main elements leading to its popularity and permanence. The subject-matter and the hero are essential factors in the success of a poem and in their superiority lay the beauty and appeal of the poem. This function of the Kāvya, as interpreted by Sanskrit literary critics, was to convey the teachings of the lord-like Veda and the discourses of the friend-like Purāṇa in a fascinating form even as a beloved appeals to and leads her lord.

The main purport of the Veda is Dharma.

वेदो धर्ममूलम् । वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलम् ॥

A Kāvya, if it purports to convey the teachings of the Veda in a beautiful and relishable form, has necessarily to devote itself to the description of a righteous and virtuous life. The Ādikāvya which set the standard for all future poems and which narrated the life of a person who was to shine as an ideal for all times and beings could therefore not have had for its main purport any subject other than the development of this eminently practical and ennobling theme of Dharma.

Indian exegetists would apply certain recognised tests to ascertain the purport of a text, *viz.*

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वता फलम् ।

अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

Applied to the Rāmāyaṇa, these tests also lead us to the same conclusion, *viz.* that it is essentially devoted to the expounding of Dharma, and that it is a धर्मप्रधानकाव्य and a धर्मप्रतिपादककाव्य.

The poem begins with an incident which is characterised by injustice and the emotions of the author which were stirred spontaneously gave rise to the exquisite śloka and the great poem which followed in its form. In search of a fitting subject for the employment of this new literary form he seeks to ascertain from his teacher, "who in the world is a Dharmajñā?" The poem thus begins with a specific mention of this subject (Dharma) and emanated out of pathos arising from a sense of injustice.

The hero and his superior qualities are given foremost consideration in the choice of the subject of this poem; and in the enumeration of his special qualities at the commencement of the poem, prominent mention is made of Dharma.

रक्षिता जीवलोकस्य धर्मस्य परिरक्षिता ।

रक्षिता स्वस्य धर्मस्य ॥ I. i. 13-14.

The Creator directs Vālmiki to narrate the life of Rāma, a Dharmātman.

धर्मात्मनो गुणवतो लोके रामस्य धीमतः ।

वृत्तं कथय ॥ I. ii. 32-33.

And the poem was composed in the form of a धर्मात्मगुणविस्तरम् (I. iii. 8), and taught to the Kuśilavas for the purpose of elaboration of the Vedic teaching, *viz.* Dharma.

वेदोपबृहणार्थाय तावग्राहयत प्रभुः ॥ I. iv. 6.

The culmination of the narrative in the death of Rāvaṇa and the triumph of righteousness points to the same theme. Cf.

राघवश्चापि धर्मात्मा प्राप्य राज्यमनुत्तमम् ॥ VI. 131, 94.

आसन् प्रजा धर्मरता रामे शासति नानृताः ।

सर्वे लक्षणसम्पन्नाः सर्वे धर्मपरायणाः ॥ VI. 131, 102.

This idea is also repeated and emphasised frequently throughout the poem. The aged Daśaratha, reluctant to part with his sons, is obliged to send them with Viśvāmitra, having promised his aid, for the sake of Dharma. The great qualities of the hero, a Dharmātmā, have endeared him to the subjects, who unanimously welcome the proposal for his coronation. His banishment is calmly accepted by him who subscribes himself

नाहमर्थपरो देवि लोकमावस्तुमुत्सहे ।

विद्धि माम् ऋषिभिस्तुल्यं केवलं धर्ममास्थितम् ॥

The sages welcome him to the forest as the protector of Dharma
धर्मपालो जनस्यास्य । III. i. 18.

His beloved advises him to wield his weapons for the protection of the afflicted.

धर्मादर्थः प्रभवति धर्मसारमिदं जगत् ।

धर्मेण लभते धर्मम् । III. ix. 31.

Even the demon Mārīca recognises this essential quality in him when he dissuades Rāvaṇa from his ignoble desire.

रामो विग्रहवान् धर्मः साधुः सत्यपराक्रमः ॥ III. 37, 13.

His associate, Jaṭāyus who was also attached to Dharma (स्थितो धर्मे, III. 50-3) appeals to the Rākṣasa king in the name of Dharma to desist from his disastrous act. In the cause of justice and righteousness is Vālin killed and this action vindicated by Rāma mainly on the ground of Dharma (IV. 18). In the thick of the fight, at the critical hour, it is the Dharma of Rāma that is invoked for the annihilation of the foe.

धर्मात्मा सत्यसन्धश्च रामो दाशरथिर्यदि । VI. 91, 73.

To his enemies too his righteousness made the greatest appeal
यस्मिन् च लते धर्मो यो धर्मं नातिवर्तते । VI. 28, 19.

The efficacy and necessity of righteous conduct have been stressed frequently and the consequences of its absence also emphasised. The justification for and the rationale of Dharma have been explained and commended whenever an opportunity occurred, *e.g.*, in the Jābāli episode in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, in the argument with Vālin, in Sītā's defiance of Rāvaṇa's entreaties and threats.

It is amply clear from the evidence presented by these tests that Dharma as conceived by the illustrious author is the *tātparya* of this great work, and the hero was one who was well-versed in the Dharma, who was practising Dharma in its entirety and who was himself Dharma in form and spirit.

While presenting a poem with a didactic trend in a relishable form, the author's art has been no less exquisite. He is depicting an ideal man, but in doing so, he presents him in human form, full of human feelings, sentiments and actions. Nowhere is anything of a superhuman touch or connection introduced in the character and conduct of any of Vālmīki's creations in the poem. To illustrate that righteous conduct (a Dhārmic life) was within easy reach of all human beings, the author has thrown light on the commonness of his characters by introducing in them as much of human feelings and actions as are found in the commonest of men. Rāma bewails the loss of his wife, is afflicted with pain and grief at his separation from his beloved (IV. i; VI. ii), and is carried away by the ordinary sense of fairness and prudence when he goads his beloved to the ordeal of fire. Sītā, with all her ennobling qualities, misses her sense of justice and propriety and suspects her brother-in-law, Lakṣmaṇa of infidelity (III. 45). The human element has thus been maintained and preserved to the utmost, and the value of the poem as a true picture of life is thereby enhanced in a large degree.

This human element has helped to make his delineation of character a perfect one. The ideal person, son, brother, husband and king—at the same time an essentially human man; a faithful, dutiful and affectionate housewife—the ideal of Indian womanhood; the ministers and counsellors like Hanumān learned and loyal to the core; friends like Jaṭāyus, Guha, Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa, sincere and helpful at all times of need; in these, as in

others, is seen the deft hand of the artful Vālmiki in sketching sublime characters.

But the appeal which the poem makes to the Sahṛdaya (हृदयत् सर्वगात्राणि मनांसि हृदयानि च) is by far its greatest merit. Brahmā's direction to the author was to produce the purificatory story of Rāma in a verse-style delightful to the responsive heart. This task was fulfilled by the artist in a form and style which are mellifluous and captivating like the song of the Kokila. The diction, simple and dignified, was befitting the ennobling Artha of the poem and the *śabda* and *artha* complemented each other in sweetness and beauty (उदारवृत्तार्थपदैर्मनोरमैः).

Figures, particularly the simile and *svabhāvokti*, have been adopted with a facility and mastery of an unsurpassed degree. All the sentiments which stir the emotions of the heart, referred to in the verse

हास्यशृङ्गारकारुण्यरौद्रवीरभयानकैः ।

बीभत्साद्भुतसंयुक्तं काव्यमेतदगायताम् ॥ I. iii. 9.

have been introduced and developed in an excellent and inimitable manner.

The sentiment which permeates the whole poem from the Krauñcamithuna episode to the final culmination in Rāvaṇa's death is pathos or Karuṇa rasa. Poetry, to Vālmiki, was only an expression of this sentiment of pathos arising out of Vipralambha (śoka = śloka). शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥

He recognised that the sentiment was better appreciated when suggested rather than when expressed. He has successfully suggested this sentiment throughout his poem which consequently ranks as a foremost व्यङ्ग्यप्रधानं काव्यम् .

The Rāmāyaṇa has served as a source-book to later master-poets who have drawn from it liberally, not only its subject, but also its form and style, *viz.* the sentiment of pathos and Vipralambha, the simile and *Svabhāvokti* in its simple and telling form and the exquisite but inimitable mellifluous style. Rightly and truly was it therefore predicted

यावत् स्यास्यन्ति गिरयः सरितश्च महीतले ।

तावद्रामायणकया लोकेषु प्रचरिष्यति ॥

श्रीः
॥ भरताभिमतं लक्षणलक्षणम् ॥

BY

टि. के. रामचन्द्रशर्मा

विषयमिममधिकृत्य डाक्टर वि. राघवेण अस्यामेव¹ पत्रिकायां मया नाट्यशास्त्रसमीक्षायां² च पूर्वं विचारः प्रवर्तितः । अथापि, केचिदर्थं विमतिविषयाः सन्देहविषयाश्च वर्तन्त इति, ते सविशेषमत्र निरूप्यन्ते ॥

तत्राभिनवभारत्यामनूदिषु दशसु पक्षेषु पञ्चमत्वेन “कवेरभिप्राय-विशेषो लक्षणम्” इति यो निर्दिष्टः, तत्पक्षिभिः को वा अभिप्रायः लक्षणत्वेन विवक्षित इति नावगम्यत इत्याह डाक्टर वि. राघवः । अस्माकं तु प्रतिभाति—आचार्यदण्डी भाविकालङ्कारप्रस्तावे—“भावः कवेरभिप्रायः काव्येष्वसिद्धि यः स्थितः” [2. 364] इत्यभिधाय कवेरभिप्रायविशेषं तस्य प्रबन्धगतत्वं च स्फुटयति—

“परस्परपकार्यत्वं सर्वेषां वस्तुपर्वणाम् ।

विशेषणानां व्यर्थानामक्रिया स्थानवर्णना ॥

व्यक्तिरुक्तिक्रमबलाद्गम्भीरस्यापि वस्तुनः ।

भावायत्तमिदं सर्वमिति तद्भाषिकं विदुः ॥” इति ॥

इदमेव भाविकमेतैर्लक्षणत्वेन परिगृहीतम् इति । युक्तं चैतत् ; यतोऽभिनवात् प्राचीनो दण्डी मुन्युक्तलक्षणादीनां स्वमतेऽलङ्कारत्वमाह भाविकालङ्कारनिरूपणसमनन्तरमेव ।

“यच्च सन्ध्यङ्गवृत्त्यङ्गलक्षणाद्यागमान्तरे ।

व्यावर्णितमिदं चेष्टमलङ्कारतयैव नः ॥” इति ॥

1. Vol. VI, part I.

2. pp. 83-90.

अथ दश पक्षाननूद्यन्ते साभिप्रायमाह अभिनवः “एषु पक्षेषु अन्यतमग्रहे विशेषणानि न सङ्गच्छन्ते स्पष्टेन पथा” [Vol. II, p. 297] इति । अत्र अन्यतमशब्देनेदं सूचितम् यन्मुनिना—

“षट्त्रिंशदेतानि तु लक्षणानि

प्रोक्तानि वै भूषणसम्मितानि ।

काव्येषु भावार्थगतानि तज्ज्ञैः

सम्यक् प्रयोज्यानि यथारसं तु ॥” [ना. 16. 4]

इत्यत्र “भूषणसम्मितानि” “भावार्थगतानि” “यथारसम्” इत्यादिभिर्विशेषणैः, तथा—“एभिरर्थक्रियापेक्षैः काव्यं कार्यं तु लक्षणैः” इत्यत्र ‘अर्थक्रियापेक्षैः’ इति विशेषणेन च लक्षणानि काव्यशोभाजनकानि रसभावतत्प्रकाशकव्यापारार्थादिगतानि बहुमुखानीति प्रकाशितम् । तेषां बहुमुखानां सर्वेषामपि लक्षणानां न सङ्ग्रहणमन्यतमपक्षग्रहणे सति सम्भवति, एकदेशस्यैव तेन व्याप्तत्वात्, किन्तु सर्वेषामपि पक्षाणां समुच्चित्य ग्रहणे सत्येवेति । अनेनैवाशयेन अभिनवगुप्तो न कमपि पक्षं दूषयति, प्रत्युत यथावसरं सर्वानपीमान् स्वीकरोति । तद्यथा—इदमनेन शब्देन अनया इतिकर्तव्यतया इत्थंभूतबुद्धिजननाय ब्रुवे इति कविः प्रवर्तते, स तथाभूतं काव्यं विधत्ते । तत्र चित्तवृत्त्यात्मकं रसं लक्ष्यंस्तद्रसोचितविभावादि-वैचित्र्यसंपादकः त्रिविधाभिधाव्यापारो¹ लक्षणशब्देनोच्यते । शब्दानां शब्दैः अर्थानामर्थैः शब्दानामर्थैस्तथापरैः सङ्घटनां विचित्रां कारयमाणाभिधाव्यापारवती ह्युक्तिः निर्वाणप्रधानधुराधिरोही लक्षणाख्य एव” [Vol. II, p. 297] इत्यनेन तृतीयनवमौ, “भूषणैः कटकादिभिः विभज्य स्थानदेशकालदशापुरुषादिविभागं विचार्य न्यस्तैरिव गुणालङ्कारैर्यदलङ्करणं तद्भूषणं नाम लक्षणम् । एतमेवार्थं सम्यगानन्दवर्धनाचार्योऽपि विविच्य न्यरूपयत् ध्वन्यात्मभूते शृङ्गारे..... । इत्यादिना ग्रन्थसन्दर्भेण सोदाहरणेन” [Vol. II. pp. 299-300] इत्यनेन षष्ठम्, “ननु उपमेयमलङ्कारः, किमतः, उक्तं ह्यलङ्काराणां वैचित्र्यं लक्षणकृतमेव । अत एव शिक्षितैरपि दण्डिप्रभृतिभिः ये निरूपिता उपमाभेदाः, तत्र यो भेदकोऽशः, आचिख्यासानिर्णयसंशयादिरर्थः.....स

1. शब्दव्यापारः, अभिधातृव्यापारः, प्रतिपत्तृव्यापारश्चेति त्रिविधः ।

लक्षणम्” [p. 305] इति, तथा “लक्षणबलादलङ्काराणां वैचित्र्यमागच्छति ।
 तथा हि—गुणानुवादनान्ना लक्षणेन योगात् प्रशंसोपमा, अतिशयनाम्ना
 अतिशयोक्तिः एवमन्यदप्युत्प्रेक्ष्यम्” इत्यादिभिः
 अष्टमम्, “एवं कविव्यापारबलाद्यदर्थजातं लौकिकस्वभावाद्भिद्यमानं तदेव
 लक्षणम्” [p. 321] इत्यनेन पञ्चमम्, “यथा च पीवरत्वं स्तनयोर्लक्षणम्,
 मध्यस्य तु कुलक्षणम्, एवं किञ्चिदभिधीयमानं केनचिद्रूपेण रसोचितेन
 विभावादिरूपेण तमेव पदार्थक्रमं लक्षयन् लक्षणम्, अन्यत्र तु कुलक्षणम्”
 [p. 297] ; “यथा हि राजता विभज्य विचार्यमाणा इत्यभवतिष्ठते—
 मुकुटाद्यलङ्कारः, शौर्यादिगुणः, व्यूढोरस्कत्वादिलक्षणसमुदायः, राजा
 गुणवांश्चालङ्कार्यश्च लक्षणीयश्च तथा काव्यमपि” [p. 305] ; “यथारसं ये
 विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिणः, तेषां योऽर्थः, तं स्थायीभावरसीकरणात्मकं
 प्रयोजनान्तरं प्राप्स्यन्ति, यदभिधाव्यापारोपसङ्क्रान्ता उद्यानादयोऽर्थास्तत्त-
 द्रसविशेषविभावादिभावं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तानि लक्षणानीति सामान्यलक्षणम्”
 [p. 298] ; “अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसात्वेऽपि हि यदप्रस्तुतस्य शरीरवैचित्र्यं
 तल्लक्षणकृतमेव ; लक्षणं हि शरीरमित्युक्तम् । कटकाद्यैरपि (दावपि) हि
 यद्वैचित्र्यं कुशलसुवर्णकारोत्प्रेक्षितं तल्लक्षणमहिम्नैव । तत्तेनोपमानशरीरस्यो-
 पमेयशरीरस्य वा वैचित्र्यं लक्षणानामेव व्यापारः” [p. 317] इत्यादिभिः
 पक्षान्तराणि च यथावसरं स्वीकरोत्यभिनवः । एषूद्घृतैश्वभिनवसिद्धान्त-
 वाक्येषु परीक्ष्यमाणेषु लक्षणानां गुणालङ्कारादिव्यतिरिक्तत्वं काव्यशोभा-
 जनकत्वं शरीरत्वादलङ्कार्यत्वं च प्रतिभासते । अनूदितेष्वपि दशसु पक्षेषु
 इदमेव लक्षणानां विविक्तं स्वरूपमुरीकृतम् । भरतमुनिरपि अलङ्कार-
 गुणादिप्रकरणात् पृथगुत्कृत्यनिरूपणेन, लक्षणमिति¹ नाम्ना,

1. अयं खलु व्यपदेशः लक्षणानां शरीरकोटिप्रविष्टत्वादलङ्कार्यत्वं शरीरशोभा-
 जनकत्वं च सूचयति । तथाहि लोके सुकेशी दीर्घनयना तिलकुसुमनासिका पक्वबिम्बा-
 धरोष्ठी वृत्तपीवरस्तनी मृद्वङ्गी काचन स्त्री लक्षणवतीत्युच्यते । अत्र हि केशनयनस्तनादि-
 शरीरावयवानां ये शोभनत्वदीर्घत्वपीवरत्वादयो धर्माः तानि लक्षणानि ; यद्योगाल्लक्षण-
 वतीति, यदभावाद्विलक्षणेति, यद्वैपरीत्यात् कुलक्षणेति च व्यवहारः सार्वजनीनः । एते च
 धर्माः शरीरशोभाजनकाः न कटकादिवत् पृथक्सिद्धाः, किन्तु शरीरादपृथक्सिद्धाः
 अलङ्कार्याश्चेति सम्मतमेव सर्वेषाम् । अलङ्काराणामपि शोभाजनका भवन्त्येते धर्माः,
 यतो स्तनस्य पीवरत्वाभावे हारादिनापि न शोभा जायते । उचितस्थानेषु निवेशिताः

“अलङ्कारैर्गुणैश्चैव बहुभिः समलङ्कृतम् ।

भूषणैरिव विन्यस्तैस्तद्भूषणमिति स्मृतम् ॥” [16. 5]

इत्यादौ गुणालङ्कारभिन्नस्यालङ्कार्यस्य लक्षणत्वप्रतिपादनेन, तथा

“आत्मभावमुपन्यस्य परसादृश्यशुक्तिभिः ।

तीत्रार्थभाषणं यत् स्यादाक्रन्दः स तु कीर्तितः ॥” [16. 19]

“गुणानुवादो हीनानामुत्तमैरुपमाकृतः ॥” [16. 13]

“यत्राल्पैरक्षरैः श्लिष्टैर्विचित्रार्थोपवर्णनम् ।

तदप्यक्षरसङ्घातं विद्याल्लक्षणसंज्ञितम् ॥” [16. 6]

“गुणैर्बहुभिरेकार्थैः पदैर्यः संप्रशस्यते ।

पदोच्चयं तु तं विद्यान्नानार्थग्रथितार्थकम् ॥” [16. 18]

इत्येवमादौ विशिष्टानां वर्णनीयवस्तूनां तदुचितशब्दानां च लक्षणत्वकथनेन चाभिनवगुप्तमेवानुगृह्णाति । तदित्थं भरतानुरोधेनैवाभिनवगुप्तपादैर्लक्षणानां गुणालङ्कारादिव्यतिरिक्तविषयत्वं प्रसाधितमिति दर्शितम् ॥

अत्र केचित् प्रत्यवतिष्ठेरन्—कथं लक्षणानां गुणालङ्कारादिव्यतिरिक्तत्वं सम्भवेत् ? न हि गुणानुवादातिशयहेत्वाशीः प्रभृतीनां लक्षणानामुपमातिशयोक्तिहेत्वाशीरादिभ्योऽलङ्कारेभ्यः, अक्षरसङ्घातादीनां श्लेषादिगुणेभ्यः, युक्तिप्राप्तियाच्चादीनां तत्तत्सन्ध्यङ्गेभ्यः, संशयाख्यानादीनां शङ्कावितर्कादिभावेभ्यश्च वैलक्षण्यमनुभूयते । अनुभवविरुद्धश्च कथं शपथशतेनापि साधयितुं शक्यते । अत एव दशरूपकादिषु लक्षणानां यथासम्भवमलङ्कारभावसन्ध्यङ्गादिष्वन्तर्भाव उक्तः¹ इति ॥

अत्र पश्यामः । रसास्वादवेलायां तन्मयीभवनक्रमेण विगलितवेद्यान्तरे सहृदयमनोदर्पणे शब्दार्थयोरपि वैलक्षण्यास्फूर्तौ किमुत वक्तव्यमन्येषां काव्यधर्माणाम् । अतश्च विवेचनदशमवलम्ब्यैव सर्वेषामपि काव्यधर्माणां स्वरूपं परस्परवैलक्षण्यं च स्वीकरणीयम् । तदा च

खलु अलङ्काराः भूषणभूष्यभावसाधारण्यं भजन्ते । अपि च करचरणाद्यवयवानां यथास्थानविनिवेशोऽपि लक्षणमित्युच्यते । इत्थं लोकानुरोधात् काव्येऽपि लक्षणानां शरीरभूतेतिवृत्तशब्दार्थाद्यव्यतिरिक्तत्वम्, तच्छोभाजनकत्वम्, अत एव स्वयमलङ्कार्यत्वं च व्यपदेशनानेन सूचितं भवति ॥

1. डाक्टर् वि. राघवेणायमेवान्तर्भावपक्षः सिद्धान्तितः ।

किञ्चिद्विशेषोपलम्भे पृथक् परिगणनं विवेचकानां सूक्ष्मदृशां सम्प्रदायः । अतश्च लक्षणानामपि कुत्रचिन्नामसादृश्ये सत्यपि तत्त्वे विशेषोपलम्भात् पृथक् परिगणनं युक्तम् । तद्यथा—प्रकृतस्य वस्तुनो वर्णनीयस्यान्येन सादृश्यप्रतिपादनमुपमेत्युच्यते । तस्य च सुन्दरत्वे सत्येवालङ्कारत्वम्, नान्यथा । सौन्दर्यं चोचितगुणक्रियादिविशिष्टयोरुपमानोपमेययोः सादृश्य-प्रतिपादने सति सम्भवति । तत्र यदुपमानोपमेयगतानामुचितगुणक्रिया-दीनां वर्णनं कविव्यापारायत्तं तदेव लक्षणमित्युच्यते । तद्यथा ‘श्यामा विशालाक्षी मत्तमातङ्गगामिनी’ इत्यादौ श्यामत्वादीनाम् उपमेयगतानां लक्षणत्वम् । एवम् ‘सञ्चारिणी दीपशिखेव रात्रौ’ इत्यादौ सञ्चारिणी-त्युपमानविशेषणं लक्षणम् । तदित्थमलङ्काराणामपि वैचित्र्यजनकं लक्षण-मिति सिद्धम् । तच्च काव्येषु नियतम् । न हि नायिकायाः श्यामत्व-विशालाक्षीत्वपीवरस्तनीत्वमन्थरगमनत्वादिगुणकर्मविभागम् अवर्णयित्वा केवलं चन्द्रवदनेत्याद्युपमामात्रेण छाया भवति । गुणक्रियाविभागान् वर्णयित्वोपमाप्रतिपादने पुनर्हेम्नः परमामोदः । अत एव काव्यस्य शोभातिशयहेतवोऽलङ्कारा इत्युच्यन्ते । अलङ्काराणामभावेऽपि लक्षणसत्त्वे काव्यस्य शोभा भवत्येव । दृश्यते हि लोकेऽपि लक्षणवती स्त्री निरलङ्का-रापि शोभमाना । अपि चालङ्काराणां स्वतो मनोहराणामपि स्थाने विनिवेशितानामेव काव्यशोभाजनकत्वं भवति । न खलु सुन्दरोऽपि हारः पादे निवेशितः, पीवरस्तनीत्वकम्बुकण्ठीत्वादिलक्षणविहीन-वनिताकण्ठनिवेशितो वा, शोभामावहति । अतश्चालङ्काराणां यत् स्थाने विनिवेशनं¹ तदपि लक्षणम् । एवमेव गुणानामपि श्लेषादीनां समुचित-स्थानेषु विनिवेशो लक्षणम् । तद्यथा—समासभूयस्त्वस्यौजसः रौद्रप्रधाने काव्ये धीरोद्धतादौ वक्तृषु । अन्यत्र शृङ्गारादौ खलु तन्निबद्धं लक्षण-हीनं दुष्टं भवति । एवमन्येऽपि गुणसङ्घटनादीनां स्थाने समीक्ष्य-विनिवेशनप्रकारा² अन्यत्रानन्दवर्धनाचार्यप्रभृतिभिः सविस्तरं प्रपञ्चिताः नात्र प्रतन्यन्ते ॥

1. अलङ्काराणां स्थाने समीक्ष्य विनिवेशनप्रकारो ध्वन्यालोके द्वितीयोद्घोते निरूपितस्तत्रैव द्रष्टव्यः ।

2. ध्वन्यालोके तृतीयोद्घोते “गुणानाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ती...” इत्यस्मिन् प्रकरणे ।

अथ सन्ध्यङ्गानामपि वैचित्र्यजनकं लक्षणं तस्माद्विभ्रमेव । तथा हि—
 बहुष्वपि सत्सु रामादिनायकव्यापारेषु केचिदेव व्यापाराः प्रधानैकफलो-
 देशप्रवृत्तसोत्साहनायकाश्रयाः काव्येषु वर्ण्यन्ते, न सर्वेऽपि, अप्रयोजन-
 त्वात्, सर्वसाधारण्यादयुक्तत्वाच्च । एवंविधनायकप्रवृत्त्यनुगुणानामन्येषा-
 मपि व्यापाराणां काव्येषु वर्णनमवश्यंभावि । एवं स्थिते प्रधाननायका-
 वस्थानुगुण्येनेतिवृत्तं पञ्चधा विभज्य एकैकस्मिन्नपि विभागे योजनीयानि
 इतिवृत्तखण्डानि (व्यापारात्मकानि) कवीनां काव्यप्रणयनमार्गोपदेशाय
 विभज्य दर्शितानि सन्ध्यङ्गानीत्युच्यन्ते¹ । एषामिति वृत्तखण्डानां काव्या-
 वयरूपाणां प्रत्येकं सौन्दर्यजनकानि लक्षणानि भवन्ति । अत्र विस्तरभया-
 देकमेव सुव्यक्तमुदाहरणं प्रदर्श्यते । यथा—मुखसन्धौ विलोभनाख्य-
 स्याङ्गस्य लक्षणमाह भरतः—‘गुणनिर्वर्णनं यत्तु विलोभनमिति स्मृतम्’—
 इति । अयं भावः—योऽयमर्थः प्रधानः काव्येषु निबध्यते कन्यालाभो
 राज्यलाभो वा तस्य प्रथममुपक्षेपः, ततो बहुलीकरणम्, ततश्च तत्राभिलाषा-
 जननाय गुणवर्णनमिति क्रमेण व्यापारा वर्णनीया इति । अत्र गुणकीर्तने
 सन्ति बहवः प्रकाराः। केचिन्मनोहराः, केचिदतिमनोहराः, केचित् सालङ्काराः
 केचिन्निरलङ्काराश्च । सर्वथापि गुणवर्णनस्य विलोभनाख्यमुखसन्ध्यङ्गत्व-
 मस्त्येव । परं तु लक्षणयोगः सर्वत्र न भवति । किन्तु कुत्रचिदेव । यत्र
 पुनरुचितैरूपमानैरतिमनोहरं कीर्त्यन्ते गुणाः विशिष्टतया तत्र भवति
 गुणानुवादाख्यं लक्षणम् । अन्यत्र तु केवलं सन्ध्यङ्गम् । एवं सर्वत्र
 सन्ध्यङ्गानामपि शोभाजनकानि लक्षणानीति मन्तव्यम् । अपि च,
 सन्ध्यङ्गानामपि रसभावादितात्पर्येण स्थाने विनिवेशनं लक्षणं भवति ।
 तदिदं सूचयति भरतः ‘सम्यक् प्रयोज्यानि यथारसं तु’ इति । अस्थाने
 विनिवेशितं तु सन्ध्यङ्गं दुष्टमेव भवति—यथा वेणीसंहारे द्वितीयेऽङ्के
 विलासाख्यस्य प्रतिमुखसन्ध्यङ्गस्य विनिवेशनम् । संशयाख्यानादीनां
 व्यज्यमानत्वे भावत्वम्, अन्यथा लक्षणत्वमिति न भावेष्वपि लक्षणानामन्त-
 र्भावः । अथ संशयादीनां सन्देहालङ्कारादिष्वन्तर्भाव इति नाशङ्कनीयम्,
 तेषामलङ्कारत्वानुपपत्तेः । न हि नायकादिव्यापारविशेषत्वात् काव्यशरीर-
 भूतानां तेषामलङ्कारत्वमुपपद्येत । एवमेवाशीःप्रभृतीनामपि मन्तव्यम् ।

1. सन्ध्यङ्गान्यधिकृत्य मया विस्तरेण कृतो विचारः शीघ्रमेव प्रकाशयिष्यते ।
 तत्र च तेषां सुव्यक्तं स्वरूपमवगन्तुं शक्यते ।

एषां च काव्यशरीरभूतानां स्वयं सुन्दरत्वलक्षणत्वमेव युक्तम् । दण्डि-
प्रभृतिभिस्तु निखिलस्यापि शोभाजनकस्यालङ्कारत्वमभिप्रेत्य निखिलानामपि
रसवृत्तिसन्धिसन्ध्यङ्गलक्षणादीनामलङ्कारत्वमुक्तम् । अतश्च तैराशीःप्रभृती-
नामलङ्कारकोटौ परिगणनं युक्तमेव । यैः पुनर्विवेचकैः रसवृत्तिसन्धि-
सन्ध्यङ्गगुणालङ्कारादीनां विशेषदर्शनाद्विभिन्नत्वमुरीकृतम्, तैर्लक्षणानामपि
भिन्नविषयता अङ्गीकार्या । आशीरादीनामलङ्कारकोटौ परिगणनं च न
कर्तव्यम् । इत्थं लक्षणानां गुणालङ्कारादिव्यतिरिक्तत्वे स्थिते कानिचित्लक्षणा-
न्यलङ्कारकोटौ निवेद्यान्येषां तत्र तत्र यथासम्भवमन्तर्भावं कथयन्तो
धनञ्जयप्रभृतयः अस्मिन् विषये¹ न परीक्ष्यवादिन इत्येव वक्तव्यम् ॥

इदमप्यत्र प्रतिभाति । अभिनवगुप्तानूदितेषु दशसु पक्षेषु, अभिनव-
सिद्धान्तवाक्येषु च परीक्ष्यमाणेषु यदिदमौचित्यं सर्वतोमुखं काव्येषु
मूर्धाभिषिक्तम्, आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यप्रभृतिभिर्महाकवीनां महाकवित्वसंपादकं
रसोपनिषदिति च जोष्यते तत्र तत्र तदेवौचित्यं लक्षणमिति व्यवहियते
भरतेन इति । परं तु तदिदमौचित्यं काव्यात्मभूतरसभावाद्याश्रयं
शरीरभूतशब्दार्थाद्याश्रयं शरीरधर्मालङ्काराद्याश्रयं चेति बहुविधमित्यतया
परिगणयितुमशक्यम् । तत्र शरीरतद्धर्माद्याश्रयाणामेव मुख्यतया लक्षण-
व्यपदेशः, लोके तथैव दृष्टत्वात् । तेषामप्यसंख्येयत्वेऽपि प्राधान्यात्
षट्त्रिंशद्भेदाः परिगणिताः । अत एवोक्तमभिनवगुप्तपादैः—“षट्त्रिंशदिति
च नान्यवारणपरम् ; कविहृदयवर्तिनामपरेषामसङ्ख्येयत्वात् । किन्तु
बाहुल्येन तावदियता लक्ष्यं व्याप्तम् । इयति च कविनावधानवता
भाव्यम्” इति [II, p. 298] ॥

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THEORIES ABOUT ABLAUT

BY

C. R. SANKARAN

I do not intend to treat about Ablaut deliberately and in cold blood, nor am I going to give an exhaustive and final account of it, but I shall attempt to indicate how intimately the problem of Ablaut is related to the subject of my investigation and also point out, if possible, a new method of approach, giving an exposition of its general principles.

Brugmann¹ was the first to discuss this subject in its entirety. Among the several other earlier contributions on this subject, mention must be here made of

(1) Chr. Bartholomae's article *Arm. a > griech. o* und die Indogermanischen Vokalreihen in Volume XVII of Bezzenger's *Beiträge* (1891), pp. 91-133.

(2) Kretschmer's *Indogermanische accent-und lautstudien* in Volume XXXI (1892) of Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, p. 325-472.

(3) Bechtel's *Hauptprobleme der indog Lautlehre*.

(4) Streitberg's *Die Entstehung der Dehnstufe* in Volume III (1894) of *Indogermanische Forschungen*, pp. 305-416.

(5) C. D. Buck, *Some general problems of Ablaut*, in Volume XVII of the *American Journal of Philology* (1896), pp. 267-88.

Indogermanic Ablaut is indeed an intricate subject and is believed to be of accentual origin. It should have operated even in pro-ethnic times and various factors should have complicated

1. *Grundriss*, Volume I, first edition 307-ff. Brugmann adopts the conclusions of some other investigators in the second edition of the *Grundriss* and in his *kurze grammatik* 210-ff. See also Wyld, *Historical study of the Mother Tongue*. For further bibliography, vide H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Ablaut*.

it.¹ Many problems closely associated with it are therefore shrouded in obscurity and they inevitably lead us to a pre-occupation with very early prehistoric times. The danger in dealing with such questions concerning changes in a period of Indogermanic development far beyond our control is clearly attested by the fact that Noreen² thinks it to be futile to set up a limited number of Ablaut series as the six which Brugmann recognises in his *Grundriss*. Noreen sets up sixteen varieties of vowel changes and makes them all co-ordinate. According to him the variations of *pēd*: *pōd*—(Lat. *pēs*: Doric. *πῶς*, section 12), of *ped*—: *pod* (Lat. *pedes*: Grk. *ποδός*, section 13), of *ped*—: *pōd*—(Lat. *pedis*: Dor. *πῶς*, section 15), of *pēd*: *ped* (Lat. *pēs*: *pedis*, section 24) and of *pōd*: *pod*—(*πῶς*: *ποδός*, section 26) are as independent and unrelated to another as is the variation *ā*: *a* (section 23) to any of these.³ Likewise he combines the variation of *ē*: *ō* in *τίθημι*: *θωμός* with that of *vēnimus*: *βωμός* (section 12) and thus brings together things that ought to be kept distinctly apart⁴ while in the former case he separates much that unquestionably belongs together.

The role Ablaut plays in the morphological development of the Indogermanic dialects is supremely important, in spite of limitations of its scope and utility. Jakob Grimm was the first to give the name Ablaut to an Indogermanic phenomenon of a very frequent interchange of a series of vowels with one another and the disappearance of a vowel from one word while it is present in another, in etymologically connected words.

1. cf. Wright, *Comparative Greek Grammar*, section 84, p. 51.

2. *Urgerm Lautlehre*, 37-ff.

3. cf. "One may conjecture that ablatives with a reduced penultimate vowel (e.g. ** *pédots* from the Ablaut base *pédotos*) played a role as well as genitives with a reduced radical vowel (e.g. ** *podós* from the ablaut base ** *pedós*)"

Genitives in *es/os* and ablatives in *ets/ots* are as old as the Indo-Hittite period.

Vide, Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, 3.47, E. H. Sturtevant. *The ablative in Indo-European and Hittite*. Language, Volume VIII, 1932, p. 7.

4. C. D. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

As has already been pointed out, scholars believe that in most cases at least, accentual variation in cognate words in the parent speech should have been responsible for this vowel-variation known as Ablaut. When accent is exclusively the determining factor, the Ablaut phenomenon goes by the name of quantitative Ablaut, otherwise it is known as qualitative Ablaut.

Each word in the parent speech should have borne one chief accent¹ which was free². This chief tone ('Hauptton') is generally represented by the vedic 'udātta' or greek acute, and occasionally by the 'svarita'. [Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* I, sections 246, 247. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar* 86.]

Of the various types of Ablaut, for purposes of illustration, let the one in which *eu* is the normal form be chosen.

u, ū, eu, ou ēu, ōu [or *ũ, ũ, ue, uo, uē, uō*] are the variations in the order usually followed. The last four under the name of 'Hochstufen' and designated by 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively are contrasted with the first two under the name of 'Tiefstufen' or 'low grades'.

The syllable which bears the chief accent is strong and the vowel in such a case can take only a full-grade or strong-grade (Grade 1) form.³ 1 and 2 (*eu, ou*) are in a class by themselves even as 3 and 4 (*ēu, ōu*) which go by the name of 'Dehnstufen'

1. Hirt, *Indogermanische Ablaut*, 8, 45.

Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* I, 245d, 247.

2. *Kurze Grammatik* 41, Wright, *Comparative Greek Grammar*, section 30.

3. It was Ferdinand de Saussure (See *Mémoire sur le système primitif des Voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes* 96-116 [1879] = *Recueil des Publications Scientifiques* 90-109) who was responsible for the doctrine that Primitive Indo-European possessed a full-grade [accented] vowel *o*.

"This feature, like so many others of our reconstructed Primitive Indo-European, has within recent years come to stand in a very different light as a result of newly discovered linguistic material and the more or less general acceptance of layangeal hypothesis. Consequently the whole question must presently be re-examined".

See E. H. Sturtevant, "Hittite evidence against full-grade *o*" *Language* Vol. XIV, No. 2, April-June 1938. p. 105.

or lengthened grades.¹ For instance, strong grade *e* becomes *ē* (Grade IV); *eu* and *ēu* can also be brought together; likewise *ou* and *ōu*. Victor Henry uses the term 'deflected' for the *ō*-forms² 'Reduktionsstufe' or reduced grade (Grade II) is thus named since owing to want of accent³ the vowel appears in a reduced or weakened form before 'Gebrauchlauten' and entirely disappears before 'sonorlauten'.

The theory of this grade having originated in the so-called secondary accent was given up by Brugmann later, but is adhered to by Wright.⁴ To illustrate, *ð* is the reduction of strong grade *ē* and weakened *e* or *no sound* is the reduction of strong grade *e*. According to Hirt, this is 'die erste schwundstufe'.⁵ His presupposition of an intermediate stage 'Reduktionsstufe' introduces needless complication. He himself admits it: "S. I and R. sind Zugleicher Zeit und nebeneinander ins Leben getreten".⁶ A second weakening of vowel results generally in its complete disappearance [Kurze Grammatik. 213 (1) f, 214; Hirt's 'die zweite Schwundstufe' Indogermanische Ablaut 38] which is known as the 'Schwundstufe' (Grade III).

There are cases where the circumstances which mark the Grade IV coexist with those that give rise to qualitative variation and these cases are brought under Grade V. showing for instance

1. Kurze Grammatik, section 213(2); Hirt, Indogermanische Ablaut, 42.

2. C. D. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

3. Kurze Grammatik, 213 (1) (b); Hirt, Indogermanische Ablaut, 18 ff; Wackernagel. Altindische Grammatik I, 69, 70.

4. Comparative Greek Grammar 85. See also B. K. Ray, The morphology of the old English Noun and the Verb traced from proethnic Indo-Germanic, p. 13.

5. Indogermanische Ablaut, section 7 ff.

6. *Ibid.*, section 38.

Edgerton in Language, Volume X.

"Sievere's Law and IE. Weak Grade Vocalism" 235 ff. especially p. 246, showed the insufficiency of the arguments adduced from Sanskrit for the existence of a schwa secundum [The reduced *a* and *e* are the schwa secundum which Hirt writes with the Russian character 6. cf. H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik Teil II.* pages 98-100.

ō (long ō with the *gegenton*) instead of short ō with the *gegenton* for the strong grade *e*.

The interchange between *e* and *o* (and according to some, also *a* and *o*) is known by the name of the qualitative Ablaut

See also Roland G. Kent, *The Sounds of Latin* in Language Monographs, No. XII, Baltimore, 1932, p. 20, Section 4. f.n. 6] in Indo-European times. Walter Petersen (The evidence for Schwa Secundum in Latin and Greek, pages 39 ff. Language Volume XIV, No. 1, Jan.-March '38) points out that the evidence from Greek and Latin also is not conclusive and decisive enough to postulate the existence of Schwa Secundum.

In this connection, it may be interesting to note that De Saussure's doctrine was that Indo-European Shwa (ə) was a consonant. J. Kurylowicz adopts it while E. H. Sturtevant refutes it. [cf. De Saussure's *Mémoire sur le système Primitif des voyelles dans les Langues Indo-Européennes* 135=*Recueil des Publication Scientifiques* 127. Leipsick 1879 'Les effects du ə en Indoiranien'. *Prace Filologiczne*||. 201-43, 1927 'ə Indo-européen et h hittite' *Symbolae Grammaticae Offerts à J. Rozwadowski* 95-104 (1927). See also 'Quelque Problèmes Métriques du Rgv̥áda' *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 4. 196-218 (1928). 'Le type Védique gr̥hāyāti' *Étrennes de Linguistique Offertes à M. Émile Benveniste* 51-62 (1928). E. H. Sturtevant, *Language* 6. p. 158.

[“The word ‘Schwa’ is taken from Hebrew grammatical literature where it designates a similar weak vowel. Sometimes it is also called the neutral vowel. But if the variety of sounds appearing in Greek is not due to mere form-analogy it would be incorrect to call it neutral”. See p. 32. Balakrishna Ghosh, “Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit” Indian Research Institute Publications, Linguistic series—No. I. Calcutta 1937. See also “The German Language” by R. Prietsch and W. E. Collinson London 1934, p. 51.]

Cf. “All in all it is clear that the alleged evidence for *o* both in Latin and Greek is either dubious or impossible. It is also clear that its existence is far from proved by the still more dubious evidence from other languages, particularly since Edgerton has shown that the alleged support from Sanskrit is also unreliable. We may conclude that if there was such a thing as a Schwa secundum, proof for its existence lies in the future, and that a totally different line of reasoning must be followed to establish it.”

Walter Petersen, Schwa secundum in Latin and Greek, *Language* Volume XIV, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1938, p. 59.

over the origin of which obscurity hangs. Hirt assumes that *o* which appears in the place of *e* or *a* represents the grade of Indogermanic secondary accent 'Gegenton' (Grade VI).¹ Since we find the secondary accent shown in the table of sounds on page 146 of the *Kurze Grammatik*, we may safely guess that Brugmann too might have adopted this theory.²

Now the first three grades are based on accent. Among them again, general principles are illustrated by the first two. In special circumstances alone, we find grades 3 and 5. There is no clear-cut organic connection between different Ablaut grades. They are 'rather of a heterogeneous body of phenomena arbitrarily strung together'.³

Many later writers have followed the track of Streitberg⁴ in his explanation of the lengthening in grade 4. Streitberg's object was clearly to demonstrate that the lengthened forms, including such as *ākārṣam*, go back to dissyllabic forms and simultaneously he also maintains the connection of the long weak forms with dissyllabic roots (*bhūtās bhāvitum*) "Die vokallänge der Schwundstufe giebt aber Kunde Von der Gestalt der Vollstufe. Diese ist zweisilbig gewesen. Darauf deutet auch ausserdem and.

1. Hirt, *Indogermanische Ablaut*, 782, 783. See also for 'Gegenton' Brugmann, *Kurze Grammatik*, 213 (3).

Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, 68, 250; Giles, *Comparative Philology*, 92.

2. It is interesting to know that according to C. M. Lotspeich (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology* Vol. 16, 1917, p. 173) that "the Indo-Germanic ablaut *e, o*, arose, just as, did the so-called 'quantitative' ablaut from a reduction of stress, the *o* stage resulting from a *partial* reduction of the stress, representing an intermediate stage between *e* and the complete loss of the vowel".

3. See B. K. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

4. *Indogermanische Forschungen* III, pp. 305 ff. Giles, *op. cit.*, 265, note 2. Wyldt, *Mother Tongue*. Hirt, *Indogermanische Ablaut*, 42. *Indogermanische Akzent*, 144. *Indogermanische Grammatik* II, 66. Brugmann in *Grundriss* I, 314 adopts a sceptical attitude but in *Kurze Grammatik* 213 (2) adopts a neutral attitude.

See also Wright, *Comp. Gk. Gram.* 92.

See below. p. 14 also.

bhāvītum, bhavitar—, bhavitra—” (*Indogermanische Forschungen* III, p. 385). It can be easily recognised that there is a special relationship between *ū* and *ēu*. There can be no doubt also that this variation of *ēu* (or *uē*): *ū* cannot be confined to roots of the heavy series. So, as C. D. Buck¹ says Streitberg’s statement quoted above and his observations on pages 306-7 in the same article cannot be harmonised. Says Streitberg² “Hiermit ist aber ein neues Kriterium zur Scheidung ursprünglicher und gedehnter Langdiphthongs gegeben. Denn die durch Steigerung entstandnen Langdiphthonge haben sich von den primären dadurch deutlich ab, dass ihre schwundstufe regelmässig Kurzen vokal besitzt. Am schärfsten tritt diese Thatsache vielleicht beim S—Aorist hervor, wo neben den langen Vokalen des aktiven Indikativs ausnahmslos Kurzvokalische Schwundstufen erscheinen. Ein langer Schwundstufenvokal ist hier unerhört. Vgl. Z B. *ākṛ̥ṣi* neben *ākūr̥ṣam*.”

We meet with three distinct kinds of variation :

(1) that of strong and weak, as *eu* : *u*;

(2) a qualitative change, as *eu* : *ou*;

(3) a quantitative variation, as *eu* : *ēu*.

C. D. Buck’s³ schematic representation of these is as follows:—

Weak		Strong	
Short	<i>u</i>	<i>eu</i>	<i>ou</i>
Long	<i>ū</i>	<i>ēu</i>	<i>ōu</i>
	normal		deflected

On account of analogy with *e*: *ē* and *a*: *ā*, it so happens sometimes *u*: *ū* comes to be substituted for *u*: *eu*. There is every probability for the origination of the following in this manner. Skt. *dhīs*, genitive *dhīyas* *bhrūs*, genitive *bhrūvas*, *gūr*, genitive *gīras*, *pūr*, genitive *pūras*.⁴

1. *American Journal of Philology*, Volume XVII (1896), p. 269.

2. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Volume III, pp. 306-7.

3. *AJP.* 17, p. 269.

4. Bechtel, Hauptprobleme, 174.

Bartholomae, Arica I. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Volume I (1892), p. 183.

Streitberg, Die entstehung der Dehnstufe *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Volume III (1894), pp. 334-5.

Slavic iteratives of denominative origin are interesting examples of secondary ablaut-variation. With simple verbs having *e* in the root-syllable were associated the denominatives with vowel *ě* in the root-syllable. Thus the interchange *e*: *ě* became typical. For instance *-ĭekati* iter to. *teka*, *tešti* 'flow', *-mĕlati* to *mešta*, *metati* 'throw', etc. Further, with verbs with *o* (iE *a* and *o*) are associated denominatives with *a* (=iE. *ā* and *ō*). So we get the variation *o*: *a*. For instance *-badati* to *boda*, *bosti* 'stab',—*ganjati* to *goniti*. The last word itself is an iterative of the 'causative' formation to *gnati*, *zena* 'strike'. 'The variation of long and short vowel had in this way become so typical that from verbs with *ī* or *ū* arose iteratives with *i*, and *y*, as *čitati* 'read' to *čīta* 'count' *-sypati* to *sinati*. This was extended even to verbs with *īr*, the weak form *er*, as *birali* to *āera*, *bīrali* 'collect'."¹

Skt. *cete*, Av. *saētē*. Greek *keītai* beside Av. *sāiti* is a good example in proethnic times of the opposite substitution. In the normal course of events Sanskrit *cīte* would have been expected, which would stand in the same relation to Av. *sāiti* as Sanskrit *sūte* to *sūti*.

Schulze² notes Sanskrit *e* and *i* as two low-grade forms to *āi*—(J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildung*, 255). However from saying that it only holds the position of a weak form, it is clear that Schulze never intended to convey that the *e* is a real low-grade. It is very likely that we meet with similar phenomenon in the aorist forms like *aneṣi* to *anāiṣam*.³

1. Cf. C. D. Buck, *AJP.* 17, p. 270.

Leskien *Handbuch d. altbulg. Spr.*, p. 15 f.

2. Indo-germanische *āi*-wurzeln. *Kuhn's zeitschrift* 27 1885, p. 422.

3. Johansson, Eine analoge Neubildung der verbalflexion im a ind. und balt-slavischen. *Kuhn's zeitschrift* Band 32 (1893), p. 509.

No satisfactory answer is given to the question concerning the ultimate origin of Ablaut. Indeed here the ground is very slippery. It can be safely posited that three distinct causes must have been in operation and the distinction of the different types of variation may well have arisen in totally different periods of the parent speech. The cause for one kind of variation alone, *viz.*, the relation of Sanskrit *emi* to *imas* which reflects original conditions where by the loss of the (stress) accent the low-grade comes from the high-grade is perfectly clear. We are admittedly skating on thin ice in suggesting even tentative explanations for the other two types, in the absence of definite data, because they operated at a remoter period and hence were exposed longer to cross-influences.

The common belief with regard to the qualitative difference is that this too is due to accentual conditions on the strength of Greek *πατηρ: ὁμο πά τωρ, δοτήρ: δώτωρ* etc. But historical evidence is conflicting and the probability for a pitch accent to have such marked effect on the quality of vowels is very little.

Baudouin de Courtenay¹ suggests that the variation depends on the character of the following consonant, the *o* representing a depalatalization of the *e*. This is perhaps plausible on physiological grounds. But it is absurd to assume, for instance, that in the present **bherō* the palatal (because of the character of the following vowel!) *r* was generalised from the forms like **bhereto*, and in the perfect the non-palatal (again, because of the character of the following vowel!) *r* from **bebhora*, in view of the characteristic variation of *e: o* between present and perfect, i.e. **bherō; bebhora*.² By the first two grades (*eu, ou*), general principles are illustrated, but only in very special circumstances do the grades 3 and 5 (for instance *ēu* [grade 3] for the strong

1. J. Baundouin de Courtenay, *Einiges über Palatalisierung (Palatalisation) and Entpalatalisierung (Dispalatalisation)*. *Indo-germanische Forschungen* 1894, Vol. IV, pp. 45-57. *csp.* see II *Urindogermanische Alternationeo*, pp. 53-7.

2. It must be remembered that 'the qualitative ablaut appears to have been originally independent of the question of historical relationship between two words'. *Vide*, B. K. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-6. *Again see* "e originally stood in the chief accented syllable and o in the next following syllable." Wright, *Comp. Gk. Gr.* 83.

grade *eu* and \bar{o} [grade 5] for the strong grade *e*) make their appearance.

Streitberg published his 'epoch-making' treatise in the third volume of the *Indogermanische Forschungen* (p. 305 ff.) wherein he propounded his theory regarding the origin of the 'Dehnstufen' that the loss of a mora in a following syllable has been a most important factor in the production of the lengthened vowels. This theory was subjected to a valuable criticism by Bloomfield.¹

There is absolutely no warrant for making the assumption that this mora-compensation was the sole factor in the lengthened grade. Only on pure conjecture is the following derivation based, Indogermanic $*\acute{p}at\acute{e}r$ (Greek $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$. Sanskrit $\acute{p}it\acute{a}$), from still older $*\acute{p}atere$ ² on the analogy of Gk. $\phi\acute{o}\rho$ from $\sigma\omicron\rho\acute{o}\phi$ $\delta\acute{\alpha}\iota\mu\omega\nu$ from $\delta\acute{\alpha}\iota\mu\omicron\nu\alpha$, $\pi\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$, $\pi\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ from $\pi\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$.³

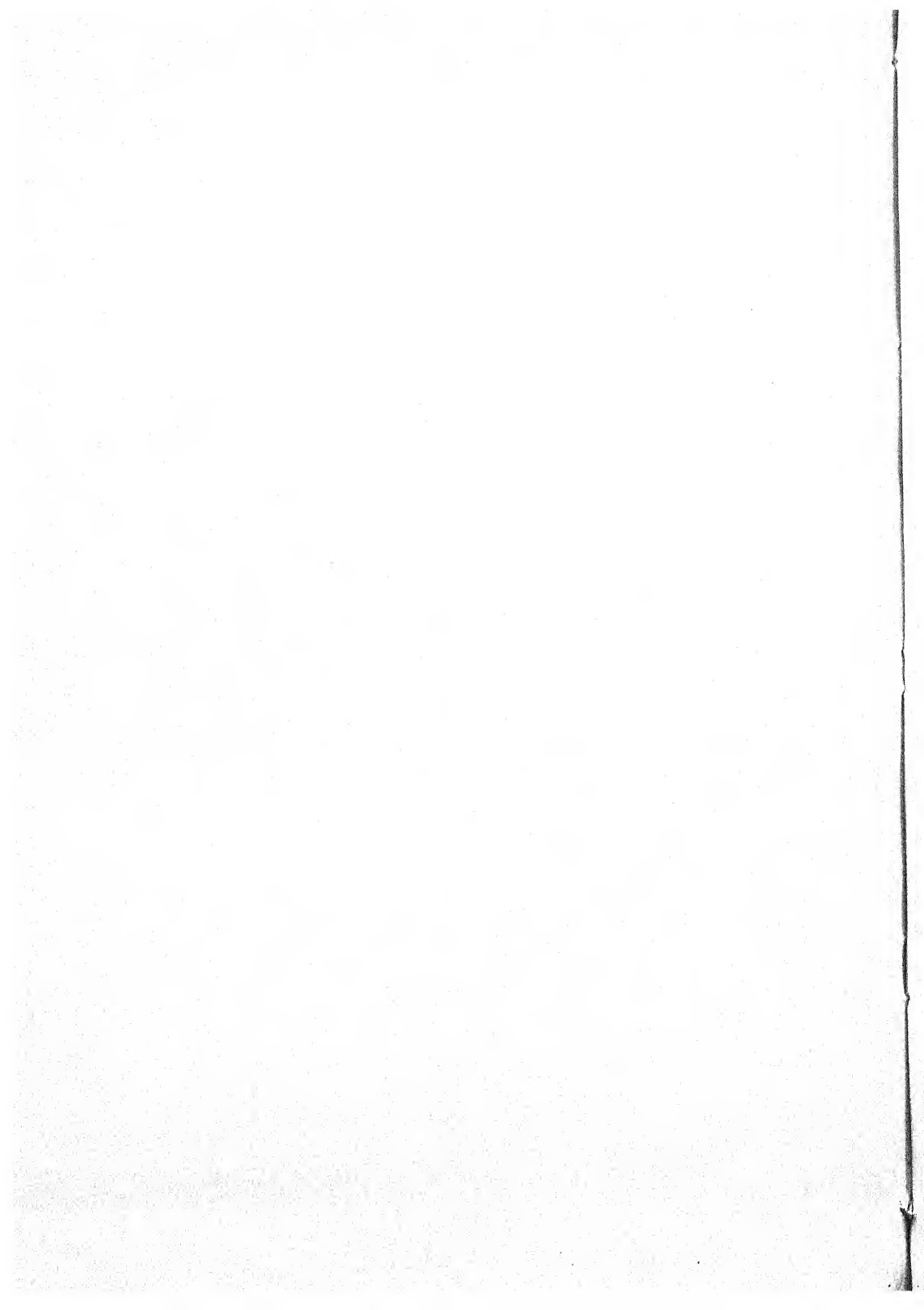
A lengthening of this sort is never recognised by Brugmann as a feature of Indogermanic phonology (*cf.* K. Gr, 311). Nor do we meet such a phenomenon in the oldest Sanskrit. [Macdonnell, *Vedic Grammar* 17 (5) f.n.] It is quite plausible that this grade is identical with the *Vrddhi* phenomenon recognised in Sanskrit Grammar [Wackernagel, 60, 61 *et passim*; Macdonnell, 22a; Hirt, *Indogerm. Gr.* II, 79. Brugmann K. Gr. 213 (1). Whitney's (239) is an older view].

(To be continued.)

1. Transactions of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXVI.

2. Contra Whitney, 246, 371a.

3. Wright, *Comp. Gk. Gram.*, 92a.



been taken to be a work of Jaimini by Mr. P. V. Kane.¹ It has to be pointed out that the extract on which Mr. Kane bases his information is capable of other interpretations. The *Smṛti-Mīmāṃsā* quotes a *Smṛti* verse of Jaimini, and Aparārka, not having probably seen the work of Jaimini, says that the verse belongs to Jaimini, on the authority of the citation in the *Smṛti-Mīmāṃsā*. It need not therefore necessarily mean that Jaimini composed the *Smṛti-Mīmāṃsā*. Moreover no old writer like Jaimini is seen to have named his work in this form. The *Smṛti* of Jaimini has been extensively used by several writers—Vijñāneśvara, Hemādri, etc.

Jaimini is said to have been born in Dvaitavana, the modern Deoband about 50 miles to the north of Meerut in the Saharanpur District of the United Provinces.² Personal anecdotes of Jaimini have been narrated in the *Bṛhatkathā* and they have been referred to by Dr. Keith and others. Those facts are therefore not repeated here.

It has already been remarked that Jaimini must have been a contemporary of Bādarāyaṇa. Mr. Nilakantha Sastri refers in the paper cited above to the various traditions that record the fact that Jaimini was a pupil of Bādarāyaṇa. But he could not, however, accept the validity of those traditions since he believed that Jaimini, the author of the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* should have been older than the Bādarāyaṇa of the *Vedāntasūtras*. If we agree with what has been said above that the Jaimini referred to in the *Brahmasūtras* need not be different from the author of the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras*, the question may be raised, *viz.*, whether, what is recorded in tradition that Jaimini was a pupil of Bādarāyaṇa is

other places Hemādri quotes some other verses in the name of Jaimini (pp. 203, 583, *Parīṣeṣa* II).

1. See Page 334 of the *History of Dharmaśāstra* by P. V. Kane.

2. See Page 58 of the *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, by Nundolal Dey, M.A., B.L.

trustworthy. It may at once be answered, "Yes, unless there be definite proof to the contrary".

In this connection the remarks of Parameśvara cited above on page one ante may be referred to, as also the following verses found on pages 19 and 20 of the Mīmāṃsāsūtrārthasaṅgraha of Parameśvara:—

नेदं केवलमस्माभिः स्वकपोलप्रकल्पितम् ।
 अस्मद्गुरोर्भगवतो व्यासस्यैव मतं त्विदम् ॥
 इत्येवमुक्तस्यार्थस्य मूलवक्ताप्रसिद्धये ।
 गुरुप्रसादलब्धत्वख्यापनार्थं च वस्तुतः ॥
 कृतं सूत्रकृता सूत्रे बादरायणकीर्तनम् ।
 न तु स्वकीयसिद्धान्तपर्युदासप्रयोजनम् ॥
 ज्ञापकं चैतदेवास्य जैमिनेः सूत्रनिर्मितौ ।
 पाराशर्यप्रयुक्तत्वे तस्मात् सुष्ठूपवर्णितम् ॥

The same tradition is recorded in a work called Śāstro-panyāsamālikā of Subrahmanya. He tells us that Jaimini was a pupil of Bādarāyaṇa in the following words:

अथ बादरायणः पुनः अतिप्रबलकलमलध्वस्तबुद्धिनां जनानामागामिनी-
 मवस्थां प्रागेव शास्त्रचक्षुषावलोक्य सकलवेदवाक्यगताज्ञानसंशय.....महान-
 नर्थसंदोहः संबोभवीति इति मन्वानो विद्याविनयादिभिः स्वशिष्येषु प्रधानभूतं
 जैमिनिमाहूय पूर्वमीमांसायां सूत्राणि प्रणेतुमादिदेश । स्वयमेवोत्तरमीमांसायां
 सूत्राणि च प्रणिनाय । अथ जैमिनिः पुनः अवनतेन शिरसा देशिकादेश-
 मुपादाय दर्भपवित्रपाणिः प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य द्वादशभिरध्यायैः षष्ठ्या पादैः
 सहस्रेणाधिकरणेन च स दं सकलवेदवाक्यगताज्ञानसंशयविपर्यय-
 व्युदासक्षमं मीमांसासूत्रं प्रणेतुकामः श्रोतृप्रवृत्त्यङ्गभूते विषयप्रयोजने मीमांसायाम्
 अधिकारिणं संबन्धं च निर्दिशन्....आद्येनाधिकरणेन इति सूत्रावतारप्रकारः ॥

It may, therefore, be taken that Bādarāyaṇa was a contemporary of Jaimini until very strong evidence is brought to the notice of scholars to the effect that they could not have been contemporaries.

What then is his date ? Professor Jacobi of Bonn University, in the course of an article on the " Dates of Indian Philosophical systems " ¹ remarks that the earliest date to which Jaimini may be ascribed may not go beyond the second century of the Christian era. Since the author of the Brahmasūtras knew the Śūnyavāda which was maintained by Nāgārjuna who lived in the 2nd century A. D., the sūtras cannot be dated back beyond the 2nd century. It should have been composed between 200 and 400 A. D. The Mīmāṃsāsūtras 'are about as old as, or rather somewhat older than, the Nyāya-darśana and Brahma sūtras'.

The basis on which Professor Jacobi argues is very weak. Simply because certain views are refuted in a particular work, that work need not be considered later than a text containing those views. The only reasonable inference is that the particular view is older than the work wherein it finds a place. The view propounded need not necessarily be found stated expressly by an earlier writer. In fact, in olden days, ideas came to be recorded in definite works after a good deal of controversy over them for centuries together. Would it be proper to say that the ideas did not exist at all before the works embodying them came to be prominent ? Is it proper to argue that words came to have those meanings assigned to them only after they were recorded in dictionaries ? Prof. Jacobi is himself prepared to admit that the Śūnyavāda did not spring up at an auspicious moment from the pen of Nāgārjuna. Nāgārjuna only recorded in a cogent form the philosophy of nihilism. It is worthy of note in this connection that in works earlier than Nāgārjuna's, *i.e.*, the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka etc. we find the elements of the later Śūnyavāda; the elements of Vijñānavāda could be traced back to some of the oldest Upaniṣads. It is therefore impossible to contend, on the basis of arguments like these, that the author of the Vedānta and Mīmāṃsāsūtras should be regarded as later than Nāgārjuna.

1. See Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XXXIII.

In a paper¹ on the "Date of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and some of his Predecessors" it has been stated that the earliest commentary on the sūtras of Jaimini should have belonged to the period anterior to Patañjali. The date of Patañjali need not be discussed here, for it is almost settled now that he was living about 150 B. C. This will certainly push back the date of Jaimini by at least a century or even two. It is absolutely impossible to push down the date of Jaimini to a period later than 150 B. C. The upper limit is hard to fix; it has been said that the earliest known commentary should have come into existence after Kātyāyana and before Patañjali. The date of Kātyāyana is not definitely known at present. Assuming with the majority of scholars that he lived about 350 B. C., we may postulate the upper limit of the date of the commentator, Upavarṣa, the Vṛttikāra. The sūtrakāra may have been older. The date of the sūtrakāra therefore will fall between 500 and 300 B. C.² This may come as a surprise to those that are familiar with the article of Professor Jacobi just referred to.

One more point regarding the date of Jaimini has to be discussed in this connection. Āpastamba, the famous sūtrakāra of the Yajurveda, seems to have been familiar with the Mīmāṃsā-sūtras of Jaimini. His Adhyātmapaṭala, commented upon by Śrī Śaṅkara, shows a clear knowledge of the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa and since he was a contemporary of Jaimini, we have every reason to believe that Āpastamba knew the sūtras of Jaimini. Among the available Śrautasūtras, those of Āpastamba and Satyāśāḍha Hiranyakeśin show verbal similarities in certain places. But here again, the same reasoning may hold good, *i.e.*, that Āpastamba could have taken the ideas, not from the works of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa, but from tradition. It is also possible that most of the ideas recorded by Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa were

1. See P. 40 and ff. of Vol. III, Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

2. It is therefore impossible to agree with Dr. Keith who places the sūtrakāra about 200 A. D. See Karmamīmāṃsā, Page 7.

handed down to them through the works of others. Āpastamba too may have taken his ideas from such writers, but we are not sure. This point has to be very carefully investigated before we can arrive at any conclusion, but the material for investigation is scanty.

A few remarks on the text of Jaimini's sūtras may not be out of place in this connection. The text of the sūtras as preserved to us is represented by the Bhāṣya of Śābarasvāmin. But several differences in the text have come to notice since the days of Śābarasvāmin. Kumārilabhaṭṭa remarks in several places in his commentaries that Śābarasvāmin adopted different readings in some sūtras. He also invites attention to the fact that, in the text which Śābarasvāmin had before him, some sūtras were missing. Later writers up to the time of Appayyadīkṣita refer to differences in the text of the sūtras as adopted by Śābarasvāmin and Kumārilabhaṭṭa respectively. The differences in the reading of the most important of the sūtras have been set forth as appendix II to this thesis.

Dr. Mangal Deva Sastri, in the course of an article¹ entitled "Metrical basis of the Mīmāṃsāsūtras of Jaimini", opines that Jaimini should have had before him a metrical text dealing with the principles of Pūrvamīmāṃsā and that Jaimini recast them in the form of sūtras. He adduces elaborate arguments for this contention and gives as it were statistics of the number of verses, half-verses and quarter-verses that are to be met with in the extant sūtras of Jaimini. Dr. Mangal Deva Sastri is of opinion that these metrical reminiscences are indicative of the fact that Jaimini had a metrical text before him. However, his arguments do not carry conviction. The only reasonable conjecture can be that early sūtrakāras composed the sūtras, which may be styled *padyagandhi*.

1. See p. 842 to 854 in the "Proceedings of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference", Lahore.

CHAPTER III. COMMENTATORS ON JAIMINI.

It has already been remarked that the earliest commentary on the sūtras of Jaimini should have come into existence about 200 B. C. That commentary seems to have been called a *ṛtti*, and Upavarṣa was the author of that *ṛtti*. But unfortunately that *ṛtti* is lost to us at present. Besides that of Upavarṣa, there seem to have existed other *ṛttis*, like those of Bhavadāsa, Bhartṛmitra and others. We come across many references to the *ṛtti* under the name 'Ṛtti' and we have no means of identifying those references and attribute them to any specific author. There are references to a *ṛtityantara* and it is not known who wrote it either. Besides these we come across references to a *Bhāṣyāntara* on the sūtras. The word *Bhāṣyāntara* is used by commentators to distinguish such commentary from that of Śabarāsvāmin. All these writers are older than Śabarāsvāmin, and the little information that could be gathered about them is bound to be incomplete. Very great care has therefore to be taken in presenting the available facts, without much of unnecessary speculation.

Ṛttikāra.

The following references are found in the *Bhāṣya* of Śabarāsvāmin to the *Ṛttikāra* :—

1. वृत्तिकारस्त्वन्यथेयं ग्रन्थं वर्णयांचकार तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिरित्येव मादिम् । I-i-5.

2. सामर्थ्यमभिधानं तच्चैतद्वृत्तिकारेणोदाहरणोपदेशेनाख्यातम् ।
II-i-37.

3. यस्यैतल्लक्षणं न भवति तद्ब्राह्मणम् इति परिशेषसिद्धं ब्राह्मणम् ।
वृत्तिकारस्तु शिष्यहितार्थं प्रपञ्चितवान् । II-i-33.

4. अत एव वृत्तिकारेणोक्तं होमाश्रितो गुणः फलं साधयिष्यति इति । II-ii-26.

5. वृत्तिकारवचनात् प्रतिज्ञां चावगच्छामः । अत्र भगवानाचार्य इदमुदाहृत्य 'वत्समालभेत, वत्सनिकान्ता हि पशवः' इतीमं संशयमुपन्यस्यति स्म "किं यजिमदमिधान एष आलभतिः उतालम्भनमात्रवचनः" इति ।

II-iii-26.

6. अथेदानीमत्रभवान् वृत्तिकारः परिनिश्चिकाय द्रव्यगुण-संस्कारेष्वेव नियतो यजि प्रति शेषभावः आपेक्षिक इतरेषाम् । यागस्य द्रव्यं प्रति प्रधानभावः, फलं प्रति गुणभावः, फलस्य यागं प्रति प्राधान्यम्, पुरुषं प्रति गुणता । पुरुषस्य फलं प्रति प्रधानता, औदुम्बरीसंमानादि प्रति गुणत्वम् । तस्मात् संमता अवधारणा द्रव्यगुणसंस्कारा यागं प्रति नियोगतो गुणभूता एव इति ।

7. वृत्तिकारस्तु मेने गानशास्त्रम् औक्थिक्यम् अनर्थकं स्यात् इति ।

VII-ii-6.

8. प्रतिपदाख्याने तु गौरवं परिहरद्भिः वृत्तिकारैः सर्वसामान्य-शब्दः परिगृहीतः प्रकृतिवत् इति । VIII-i-2.

9. तदुक्तं वृत्तिकारेण "न वा शब्दपूर्वको हि अर्थसंप्रत्ययः तस्मादर्धनिष्पत्तिः" इति । X-ii-23.

In the Śloka-vārtika of Kumārila we find the following references to the Vṛttikāra:—

1. प्रसिद्धहानिः शब्दानामप्रसिद्धे च कल्पना ।
न कार्या वृत्तिकारेण सति सिद्धार्थसंभवे ॥ p. 12.
2. प्रतिज्ञामात्रमिलेतत् जैमिनेर्मतमुच्यते ।
वृत्तिकारोऽधिकं वापि भूतादिद्वारमब्रवीत् ॥ p. 138.
3. असामर्थ्यं च मत्त्वास्य वृत्तिकारेण लक्षणे ।
तत्संप्रयोग इत्येवं पाठान्तरमुदाहृतम् ॥ p. 136.
4. परलोकफलाः पूर्वमाक्षिप्ताश्चोदनाः परैः ।
इदानीमैहिकाक्षेपः सूत्रकारेण चोद्यते ॥

Pārthasārathimiśra while commenting on this verse observes—

इदानीं तु वृत्तिकारमतेन सूत्रार्थतया आक्षेपं दर्शयति ॥ p. 493.

5. वैदिको व्यवहारस्तु न कर्तृस्मरणादृते ।

दुर्गेषु गवि गोशब्दप्रयोगे गम्यते कथम् ॥

and Pārthasārathimiśra remarks on this verse:—

अव्यतिरेकश्चेति सूत्रं वृत्तिकारेण द्विधा व्याख्यातम् । p. 677.

6. न साधनप्रयोगोऽयं सूत्रकारेण रच्यते ।

वृत्तिकारेण चार्थस्तु योग्यो द्वाभ्यां निरूपितः ॥ p. 109.

In the Tantravārtika of Kumārilasvāmin we find the following references to the Vṛttikāra:—

1. तत्र यद्वृत्तिकारोदाहरणं पार्वणस्थालीपाकविषयगृह्यकारवचन-
श्रवणात् दर्शपूर्णमासचरककल्पसूत्रकारवचनाध्यारोपेण दत्तं तदत्यन्ताध्यारो-
पाभिभवामिप्रायप्रयुक्तमित्यनादृतम् ॥ p. 117.

2. यथोक्तं वृत्तिकारेण होमाश्रितो गुणः फलं साधयिष्यति इति ।
p. 552.

3. वृत्तिकारमतेन सूत्रचतुष्टयमन्यथा व्याख्यास्यन्नाह—अत्र भगवा-
निति ॥ p. 674.

4. इह तु एतद्ग्रन्थान्यथानुपपत्त्यैव त्रयः पक्षाः क्रमवन्तः हृदये
वृत्तिकारस्य विपरिवर्तमाना गम्यन्ते ॥ p. 935.

In the Bṛhatī of Prabhākaramiśra we find the following references to the Vṛttikāra:—

1. अत एव वृत्तिकारोदाहरणप्रपञ्चोक्तिरपि नैव मृष्यते भाष्यकारेण ।
II-i-31, p. 502.

2. वृत्तिकारमतोपन्यासस्तु पूर्ववद्द्रष्टव्यः । II-i-32, p. 503.

3. वृत्तिकारवचनं किंपरम् ? II-ii-26, p. 604.

4. तथा च दर्शितं वृत्तिकारवचनात् विषयमवगच्छामः ।

II-iii-16, p. 641:42.

5. वृत्तिकारमतोपन्यासः पूर्वपश्चात्परिज्ञानार्थः । III-i-6, p. 677.

There are also other references to the *Vṛttikāra* in works like:—

1. *Uṇiveka's* commentary on the *Śloka-vārtika*,
2. *Śāstradīpikā* and its commentaries,
3. *Nayaviveka* and its commentaries,
4. The *Ajitā*,
5. *Mīmāṃsānyāyakośa*,
6. *Adhvaramīmāṃsākutūhalavṛtti*,
7. *Ṣoḍaśādhyāyītippana*,
8. *Mīmāṃsāsūtrārthasaṅgraha* etc.

Such of those references as are important in these works have been collected in appendix III.

Vṛttyantara.

Besides *Upavarṣa's* *vṛtti*, there seems to have been in existence another *vṛtti*. The name of the author of that *vṛtti* is not preserved but there are several references to it. The references are sometimes to the *Vṛttyantara* and at other times to the *Vṛttyantarakāra*. They are:—

From the Śloka-vārtika.

1. वृत्त्यन्तरेषु केषांचिह्नौकिकार्थव्यतिक्रमः ।
शब्दानां दृश्यते तेषामुपालम्भोऽयमुच्यते ॥ p. 11.

In commenting on the above passage, *Pārthasārathimiśra* observes:—

- वृत्त्यन्तरेष्विति । केषांचित् भवदासादीनां वृत्त्यन्तरेषु । p. 11.
2. अनुमानादभिन्नत्वान्नोक्तौ जयपराजयौ ।
वध्यघातकभावेन यौ सर्पनकुलादिषु ॥ p. 413.

Pārthasārathimiśra observes on this verse as follows:—

वृत्त्यन्तरे सर्पनकुलयोरेकस्य जयमन्यस्य पराजयं वा दृष्ट्वा इतरत्र जय-
पराजयकल्पनमर्थापत्युदाहरणं दत्तम् । तत्किं भाष्यकारेण नोक्तम् ? अत
आह—अनुमानादिति । p. 463.

From the Tantravārtika.

3. वृत्त्यन्तरे तु अत्रैव मन्त्रवर्णोऽप्युदाहृतः । p. 332.
4. वृत्त्यन्तरे तु चत्वार्येव भेदकारणानि शब्दान्तरसंज्ञागुणफलानि उदाहृतानि । p. 625-26
5. वृत्त्यन्तरकारैस्तु सर्वैः व्याख्यातानि । p. 915.

From the Śāstradīpikā and its commentaries.

6. तदिदं वृत्तिकारान्तरव्याख्यानम् अधिकरणस्यानुपपन्नमिति मन्वानेन भाष्यकारेण व्याख्यानान्तरमारब्धम् । p. 728.

7. ऐकाधिकरण्यमते तु सूत्रान्यथाकरणं भाष्यकारेण दर्शितम् । p. 867.

On this passage Somanātha observes as follows:—

- कथं वृत्त्यन्तरकारैः एकाधिकरणमङ्गीकृतम् इत्यत्राह—एकेति । p. 867.

8. नन्वत्र वृत्तिकारान्तरोदाहृतम् “गोदोहनेन पशुकामस्य” इत्येतद्वाक्यमिति क्रमे “दध्नेन्द्रियकामस्य” इत्येतदुदाहरणे को हेतुः ।

Yuktisnehaprapūraṇi, p. 95, (R. 4170).

9. वृत्तिकारान्तरैरेतत्सूत्रमर्थवादप्रामाण्येन, तदेकवाक्यतया साक्षाद्भक्षत्वात् विध्युद्देशस्यापि अप्रामाण्यापत्तेः । p. 6.

10. इति चेदिति पदद्वयं भाष्यकारेणापठितमपि वृत्त्यन्तरे दृष्टत्वात् वार्त्तिककृता पठितम् । p. 487.

11. कथमिति भाष्यं वृत्त्यन्तरोक्तसन्देहकारणनिरासार्थम् इति दर्शयितुं स्वरूपतस्तावद्याचष्टे । p. 524.

12. यच्च वृत्त्यन्तरकारैः आरभतेः णिजन्तात् अच्प्रत्ययमुत्पाद्य आरम्भयति प्रवर्तयति इत्यारम्भकं प्रवर्तकं वाक्यं चोदना इति चोदनास्वरूपकथनार्थतया एतत्सूत्रं व्याख्यातम्.....यो भाष्यकृतोक्तः सूत्रार्थः स एव युक्तः न वृत्त्यन्तरकारोक्तः । p. 612.

13. वृत्त्यन्तरकृतसमवायिविशेषव्याख्यात्यागेन भाष्यकृतोऽन्यथा व्याख्या हेतुक्यैः ; तां दूषयितुमुपन्यस्यति—तत्रेति ।या चाङ्ग-गुणविशेषन्यायात् बहिरङ्गस्य बाध्यता वृत्त्यन्तरकारैरुक्ता साप्ययुक्ता इत्याह—p. 66-67.

(Paged separately.)

It is not known at this stage of our knowledge who this Vṛtтыantarakāra is. He might have been identical with any one of the authors of the Vṛttis referred to just now; or he may turn out to be different. In one place Bhavadāsa is referred to as the Vṛtтыantarakāra.

These extracts from the Vṛttikāra and the Vṛtтыantarakāra do not help us much in reconstructing the literary history of Mīmāṃsā in the period prior to Śabarāsvāmin. Many of these extracts could have been taken from the works of the authors to be mentioned presently; but in the case of many other extracts we cannot say definitely from which of the commentaries they have been taken.

We may now proceed to speak about the various commentators who preceded Śabarāsvāmin.

Upavarṣa.

Upavarṣa is the earliest of the commentators referred to by name. The following are the passages where Upavarṣa is found mentioned specifically.

1. गकारौकारविसर्जनीया इति भगवानुपवर्षः ।

Śābarabhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 13 (B. I.).

In the Tantravārtika.

2. तदिह भगवानुपवर्षः किल अग्निहोत्रे धेनुदोहाधिकारे श्रुतमिदं वाक्यमुदाहृतवान् । etc. p. 607.

In the Sāstradīpikā and Commentaries.

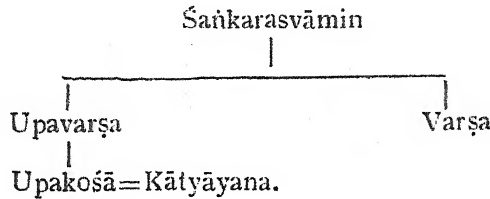
3. वृत्तिकारस्त्वन्यथेवं वर्णयांचकार इत्येवमादिना उपवर्षमतेन । p. 45.
4. उपवर्षस्तु वृत्तिकारो बह्वृचब्राह्मणे अमावास्यायामपि उपांशु-याजो विहित इति । p. 95.

5. अयं च गोस्मरणस्य इत्यन्तो भाष्यग्रन्थः उपवर्षसंमत एव भाष्यकारेण लिखितत्वात् टीकाकारादिभिः भाष्यत्वेनैवोच्यते । p. 74.

(Somanātha).

In the Śoḍaśādhyāyītippana the same topic as mentioned above in 4 is referred to in the name of Upavarṣa (Adyar p. 457, Vol. I).

I have elsewhere¹ said that Upavarṣa was older than Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya. A corroborative evidence may be seen in the tradition recorded in the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Bṛhatkathā. It is said that Upavarṣa was the father-in-law of Kātyāyana. Upakośā was his daughter and she was given in marriage to Kātyāyana. Upavarṣa had also a brother by name Varṣa. The genealogy of Upavarṣa may be shown as follows:—



Regarding the nativity of Upavarṣa, we have little information. The Kathāsaritsāgara tells us that Varṣa and Upavarṣa were living at Pāṭaliputra, the modern Patna. The same tradition is recorded in the Kāvyamīmāṃsā² of Rājaśekhara, where we find

श्रूयते च पाटलिपुत्रे शास्त्रकारपरीक्षा—

अत्रोपवर्षवर्षौ इह पाणिनिपिङ्गलौ इह व्याडिः ।

वररुचिपतञ्जली इह परीक्षिताः ख्यातिमुपजग्मुः ॥

This leads to the inference that he might have had something to do with Pāṭaliputra.

In this connection mention may be made of an Upavarṣa³, who is referred to in the Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana, as the following rendering of an extract from that work shows. “Upavarṣa and others have laid down that when one has performed the

1. See Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. III, pp. 51-3.

2. See Kāvyamīmāṃsā, p. 55 (Gaekwad Oriental series).

3. See Dr. Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Skt Mss. 1833-84.

ceremony of the inauguration of the sacred fire, he should feed a hundred Brahmins, but this is not prescribed in other sūtras".

"The Uśijas, Vāmadevas, and Dīrghatamasas are Gautamas *i. e.*, branches of the Gautama race according to the reading of Upavarṣa and others, and consequently they should not intermarry but may have connection with the Bhāradvājas".

In the Prayogaratnamālā¹ of Caṇḍapācārya we find the following reference to Upavarṣa:—

उपवर्षादिभिः प्रोक्तमाधाने शतभोजनम् ।

The extract states the opinion of Upavarṣa regarding the feeding of Brāhmins. This view of Upavarṣa is identical with that of the first of the views cited above from the Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana.

Now who is this Upavarṣa ? Is he identical with the Vṛttikāra on the Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā Sūtras ? The answer is a plain "we do not know" though it is likely that the two might have been identical.

Upavarṣa wrote commentaries on both the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṃsās and there are references to both of the commentaries though neither is available. Some scholars think that Kṛtakoti is the name of the Vṛtti of Upavarṣa². That this is not correct and that Kṛtakoti was another name of Upavarṣa himself will be elucidated in a later section of this thesis, while dealing with the Prapañcahṛdaya and the contents of that work.

In the Tantravārtika³ there is a reference to Upavarṣa under the name Mahābhāṣyakāra.

ततश्च तृतीयार्थासिद्धिरिति मत्वा महाभाष्यकारेण उक्तं तृतीयायाः स्थाने द्वितीया इति ॥

At first sight it may look like a reference to Patañjali; but as a matter of fact it is not a reference to him, but only a refer-

1. Prayogaratnamālā, G. O. Mss., R. 795, p. 21.

2. See Journal of Indian History, Madras, Vol. VII, pp. 107-115.

3. See p. 390.

ence to Upavarṣa. The Nyāyasudhā makes the point clear. The following extract from the Nyāyasudhā is worthy of notice.

या परीष्टिर्निमित्तानां कर्तव्येत्युपवर्णिता ।

सा महाभाष्यकारेण न कर्तव्येति वर्णिता ॥

इत्युपवर्षे महाभाष्यकारशब्दप्रयोगाच्च एवं व्याख्यातः ॥¹

The only other Bhāṣya that is known to us by the name Mahābhāṣya is that of Patañjali on the vārtikas of Kātyāyana. It is not unlikely that the name Mahābhāṣya, given to Upavarṣa's work, suggested a similar title to Patañjali's great work.

It is worthy of note that Parameśvara in his Sūtrārthasaṅgraha refers to Upavarṣa as Mahābhāṣyakāra in the following extract.

तथा सति वृत्तिकारग्रन्थाद्यात्मवादावसानस्य ग्रन्थस्यायुक्तत्वप्रसङ्गात्
वैपरीत्यं वा किं न स्यात् महाभाष्यकारवर्णितत्वात् यथा गकारौकारविसर्जनीया
इति भगवानुपवर्ष इति² ॥

Several extracts are found under the name Bhāṣyāntara and it may be conjectured that at least some of them formed part of the work of Upavarṣa.

So late as the 17th century, a Vedāntic writer, Bhāskara Dikṣita by name, states in the opening pages of his Ātmatattva-parīkṣā that he first states the views of Upavarṣa and then criticises those views in the light of the Vedānta of Śrī Śaṅkara. He says:—

तत्र प्रथमं प्रकरणदशकेन भगवदुपवर्षदर्शितन्यायकलापैः अद्वैतवाद्यु-
पन्यस्तयोः शास्त्रारम्भोपयोगि etc.³

Bodhāyana.

Śrī Rāmānuja refers in the opening passages of his Śrībhāṣya, to Bodhāyana as a commentator of venerable antiquity,

1. Nyāyasudhā, p. 632.

2. See p. 48.

3. G. O. Mss. Library, R. 786.

on both the Pūrvamīmāṃsā and Uttaramīmāṃsāsūtras. The passage itself runs thus:—

भगवद्बोधायेन कृतां विस्तीर्णां ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्तिं etc.

and

संहितमेतच्छारीरकं जैमिनीयेन षोडशलक्षणेन ।

Without doubt the passage in question states in unambiguous terms that Bodhāyana wrote on both systems. Among orthodox Pandits the belief is current that this Bodhāyana should have been identical with the author of the Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras. That Bodhāyana was a Vṛttikāra is referred to by other writers on Viśiṣṭādvaita, as for instance Yāmunācārya and others. One fact is worthy of consideration in this connection and that has been set out by my professor, Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppaswami Sastriar, in an article published in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference¹, Madras. He has shown that according to Vedānta Deśika, one of the greatest authorities on Viśiṣṭādvaita, Bodhāyana was another name of Upavarṣa.

In an article entitled "Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa"² Mr. Rangaswami Sarasvatī makes a number of observations regarding Upavarṣa and they will be succinctly dealt with in a further section of this thesis, while dealing with the authenticity of the work called Prapañcahṛdaya. The remarks of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on this point will be discussed in that section.

Bhavadāsa.

Bhavadāsa is another commentator on the sūtras of Jaimini in the pre-Śabara days. The earliest writer who gives us any information regarding Bhavadāsa is Kumārila-bhaṭṭa. The work of Bhavadāsa did not probably go into oblivion till the days of Pārthasārathimīśra. The following references to Bhavadāsa are worthy of consideration:—

1. See p. 467.

2. See Journal of Indian History, Madras, Vol. VII, pp. 107-115.

1. वृत्त्यन्तरेषु केषांचित् etc. (Śloka V, p. 11.)

In commenting on this passage Pārthasārathimiśra observes:— केषांचित् भवदासादीनां वृत्त्यन्तरेषु ।

2. प्रदर्शनार्थमित्येके केचिन्नानार्थवाचिनः ।

समुदायादवच्छिद्य भवदासेन कल्पितात् ॥ (Śloka V, p. 21.)

3. वर्ण्यते सूत्रभेदेन येन प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम् ।

तेन सूत्रस्य सम्बन्धो वाच्यः पूर्वप्रतिज्ञया ॥ (Śloka V, p. 133.)

On this verse Pārthasārathimiśra observes:—

भवदासेन एतत्सूत्रं [सत्संप्रयोगे etc.] सत्संप्रयोगे इत्येवमादि तत्प्रत्यक्षम् इत्येवमन्तं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम् अनिमित्तमित्यादि च तस्य धर्मं प्रत्यनिमित्तत्वपरं व्याख्यातम् । तदुपन्यस्य दूषयति वर्ण्यत इति । p. 134-35.

4. तर्हि भवदासपक्षेऽपि लक्षणस्यानुमानादौ अतिव्याप्तिः न स्यात् ।

स्यादिति ब्रूमः । Nyāyaratnākara, p. 139.

5. भवदासेन हि सता संप्रयोग इत्युक्तम् । संप्रयोगशब्दश्च सकल-

संबन्धवचनो व्याख्यातः । Nyāyaratnākara, p. 145.

6. भवदासेन चोक्तम्—

“अथात इत्ययं शब्द आनन्तर्ये प्रयुज्यते”

Sucaritamiśra, p. 13. T.S.S.

7. उक्तं च भवद्विरपि भवदासदूषणावसरे ।

Sucaritamiśra, p. 211.

That Bhavadāsa preceded Śabara¹ is clear from the remarks of Sucaritamiśra on p. 13, in his comments on the verse—

1. The statement of Dr. Keith, *i.e.*, “The name of the Vṛtti-kāra is uncertain. The conjecture that he was Bhavadāsa, mentioned in one place by Kumārila may be dismissed as wholly without support. The current opinion makes him to be Upavarṣa. If this view is rejected, it is possible that he

AKHAṆḌĀRTHA.¹

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How can śabda ever approximate to Brahman? The latter is supra-relational, while the former is essentially relational. A verbal assertion may lead us to the knowledge of a subject as characterised in one way or another, but not to the knowledge of the character-less; its content is relational cognition (samsarga-jñāna), not the non-relational or the impartite (akhaṇḍa). The exhibition of the impartite sense (akhaṇḍārtha) of statements is a prominent pre-occupation of Advaitins. They appeal with success to the psychology of assertions, of which they recognise two kinds. One is the descriptive, where a predication is made of a subject and the knowledge conveyed is relational; 'Devadatta wears a crown' predicates the attribute of being crowned in relation to Devadatta. The other type of assertion is demonstrative; the above statement about Devadatta may in some circumstances have only a demonstrative import; for instance, a stranger to the city knows that Devadatta is king, knows also that Devadatta may be seen in the audience-hall of the palace; having gone there, he sees a host of nobles splendidly robed, among whom he finds it difficult to identify the king; on asking a neighbour he is told that the king (Devadatta) is he who wears the crown. The questioner's interest is in the identity of the individual, not in his characteristics; a relational statement in those conditions would be irrelevant, if not superfluous, as in a general way the questioner may know even that kings wear crowns. To a question about identity, the answer too should properly be a demonstrative assertion of identity. The answer given is, therefore, in spite of its relational form, intended to lead to knowledge of the non-relational, the identity of Devadatta.

The import of non-dualist texts too may similarly be the impartite. The possibility is made clearer in recognitive judg-

1. A paper contributed to the Indian Philosophical Congress, XIVth Session, 1938.

ments like 'This is that Devadatta'. We do not in such a case intend to predicate presence here and now in the case of a subject characterised as seen at a different time and place; nor do we predicate of him both sets of attributes; for either assertion would involve a contradiction. What we do assert is the substantive identity of Devadatta despite the apparently conflicting attributes. So too in the Vedānta text "That thou art"¹ there is stated the substantive identity of consciousness despite the conflicting attributions of finitude and omnipotence, parviscience and omniscience. And, on the analogy of the recognitive assertion noticed above, texts like "Reality, consciousness, infinitude is Brahman"² are to be understood as indicating Brahman through the exclusion of the unreal, the inert and the finite. The sentence is no doubt made up of words in relation; but its import need not be and is not in all cases relational. The judging activity being purposive, we should, in determining its purport, look to its end rather than its form; and the cognition of identity rather than characteristics is both an actual and intelligible end.

This division of judgments into two classes, those with a relational import and those signifying non-relational identity, would appear to be *prima facie* sound.³ The position, however, is not free from difficulties. The demonstrative judgments too can be interpreted as descriptive without doing too much violence to them. 'This is that Devadatta' can mean that 'Devadatta is the individual who despite having been seen at another time and place is also seen here and now'; the capacity to be the substrate of apparently conflicting characteristics, this itself may be understood as a characteristic. Similarly, 'Devadatta is fair', though a descriptive judgment, may serve as a demonstrative judgment when used for identifying Devadatta in a company the other members of which are dark. The difference, then, is not in the form of the judgment, but in the purpose subserved. It now remains to ask whether in knowing we really have different purposes served by different judgments or rather different levels of the same purpose.

1. tat tvam asi; *Chānd.*, VI, viii, 7.

2. satyam jñānam anantam brahma; *Taitt.*, II, 1.

3. For a spirited defence of the position, see Datta, *Six Ways of Knowing*, pp. 311 ff.

When we say 'leaves are green' or 'roses are red' or 'man is mortal' we seem to be interested in knowing certain attributes possessed by a substance or class of substances. Without entering on a discussion of substance and attribute, let us examine a little more closely the significance of this predication. The predicate is not something external to the subject, added on to it, in spite of appearances to the contrary. To take the judgment about leaves, it is not as though we have leaves given to us as the subject to which green-ness is added by the predicate; if our judgment is valid, what is not green is not a leaf, so that in starting with the subject we have green-ness also given. What happens is that in a whole called 'leaf' we isolate 'green-ness' and predicate it of that wherein the colour was not explicitly cognised. The relation of predication takes place within a whole of which subject and predicate are components; the whole is above *this* relation, and to that extent is supra-relational. And the object of the judgment for all its predicative character is to restore that which was isolated (by our interest in colour-cognition) to that wherefrom it was isolated, to restore the whole to its integrity. This cannot be gainsaid by any logician who admits all judgments to be analytic as well as synthetic. The analysis is of a whole; the synthesis restores the whole. It is the whole that guides and directs the two-fold functioning of the judgment.

Why then do we stop short with a characterisation in the judgments mentioned? Because we are not fully alive to the identity that controls the judging process. The moment some quality, say, colour, or relation, say, equality, has been analysed and predicated, we feel satisfied with the achievement of our thought. It requires greater knowledge and reflection to realise that the substance is more than any or all of those characteristics together, that the identity dimly striven for in the earlier levels of judgment can be achieved only by the identity-type, where characteristics find mention only to be transcended. The realisation of identity is the one purpose that runs through all these judgments: 'I am a man', 'I am the same man that I was yesterday', 'I am Brahman'. In the earlier levels the predicative character is more prominent; that, however, is no ground for postulating radically different purposes. The task of judgment is ever to unify; but the unity is realised in different grades at different levels.

It may be urged that the identity sought must be an identity-in-difference, since a judgment of bare identity is bare tautology and unintelligible. This much may be admitted, that in the absence of all difference, an assertion of identity would be pointless. The co-eval reality of difference cannot, however, be granted. Identity may not be intelligible apart from difference; but it is no more intelligible if the two are juxtaposed. One or other must be admitted to be phenomenal; and since admittedly we seek unity through the judgment, the difference must be phenomenal. That is to say, the purport of the judgment is the supra-relational, though its form is relational. Subject and predicate are the termini or limbs of the judgment, but its constitution, its body, as it were, is the whole that is neither subject nor predicate, being the substrate of both.

Critical idealists who distinguish the logical from the grammatical subject should be disposed to grant the position indicated above. They take up the opposite position instead and seek to make all judgments predicative. They have the merit of envisaging a single purpose in all judgments; but it is questionable if that purpose has been conceived correctly. Reality, according to these thinkers, is the logical subject in every judgment. The assertion 'S is P' or 'S is not P' means 'Reality is such that it is characterised by S-P or S-not-P'. The words 'such that' etc. constitute the predicate. Now since reality is the subject, what is the nature of the predicate? If it is different from the subject, it must be other than real and every judgment should *eo ipso* be false. If it is not different from reality, it cannot be different from the subject; every judgment, logically and not grammatically considered, should be an identity-judgment. In Bradleian language, the logical subject is that wherein existence and content, the *that* and the *what* are in full harmony; in the predicate such harmony is lacking; each aspect tends to exceed the other; the task of judgment is suitably to harmonise the predicate by remedying the excesses; the result (as well as the presupposition) of such harmonisation is reality. The identity of subject and predicate, then, is the object of *all* judgments, not merely of a few. It is an identity-in-difference; the difference is presented; because of this presentation the identity is aimed at; it is achieved, however, not because of, but in spite of, the difference.¹

1. Dr. Datta (*loc. cit.*) makes special reference to Bradley's

The above considerations apply with equal, if not greater, force to the Advaitin. For him, Consciousness (*caitanya*) is the sole reality. It is itself reality and knowledge. All finite relational knowing attains validity or fruitfulness only by approximating to that *svārūpa-jñāna*. Since what approximates and the process of approximation are both relational, the empirically valid is bound to be predicative in form; the farther away we are from the ideal, the larger will bulk the predicative import. But since subject and predicate alike have reality for the Advaitin only as superimpositions on the one Consciousness, even the predicative

view that "judgment is not the assertion that subject and predicate are identical or equal". Bradley seems to be primarily concerned here with equational logic; and it is difficult not to agree with him when he shows that "The qualification of the predicate is a half-hearted doctrine, which runs against facts if '=' does mean *equal*, is ridiculous if '=' comes to no more than plain '*is*', and is downright false if '=' stands for '*is the same as*'" (*Logic*, I, 24). The Advaitin's purpose, however, will be better served by a consideration of Bradley's view of the *logical* subject; Bradley's concern in the passages cited by Dr. Datta, is with the *grammatical* subject. Further, the identity asserted as the purport of the judgment (by the Advaitin) is not bare identity, nor is it *between* the grammatical subject and the predicate. 'This is that Devadatta' is an assertion of identity-in-difference; and it is not an equation of 'this (Devadatta)' with 'that Devadatta'; it is rather an assertion of the identical Devadatta that underlies the difference signified by 'this' and 'that'. This is not what Bradley understands by *identity* in his view that that is not the import of the judgment. And identity-in-difference, even as between grammatical subject and predicate, may be shown to be the import of the very judgments cited by Bradley—"You are standing before me", "A is to the north of C", etc. When we say "London is south-east of Liverpool", are we not synthesising in a unity, the other knowledge we had of London before making this judgment, with the knowledge that it is situated in a certain direction in relation to Liverpool? Is not the import of the judgment, in other words, the assertion of the unity, underlying what we mean by 'London' and 'south-east of Liverpool'? It is this unity which is the substantive, not the grammatical subject. Nor is there the defect of logical torture. 'A is simultaneous with B' cannot without torture be treated as equivalent to 'simultaneity exists in A B'; but we may surely understand that 'what we cognise as A, without reference to its temporal relation to B, is

import will appear to him never as an end-in-itself, but only as a half-way house to akhaṇḍārtha.

Note. It may be noted that the predicative view of propositional import is not identical with the attributive view, whether in Western or in Indian Logic. The viśeṣaṇa is to be understood as characteristic, rather than as attribute (guṇa). The former would apply to the predicates in relational propositions too, as they are called in Modern Logic; see Mellone, *Elements of Modern Logic*. p. 79. On Judgment as an act of superposition, see P. T. Raju in the *Calcutta Review*, September, 1935.

also that which is contemporaneous with B'. The Indian philosopher's approach through the 'word' as pramāṇa is probably responsible for his preoccupation with propositions, rather than judgments; hence the Advaitin's attempt to show that akhaṇḍārtha may *also* be signified, not that it is the only significance. The same preoccupation accounts for the advocacy of the *abhihitānvayavāda*; due attention to the judgment as the unit of thought might have resulted in unwavering adherence to the view that the sentence-sense is primary.

THE KUCARA GRĀMA DĀNA PATRA OF MĀDHAVA ĀCĀRYA (MANTRIN)

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

On p. 25a of the Adyar Mss. Catalogue, II, there is the interesting entry "Kucaragrāmadānapatram (Rājavarṇśāvaliḥ)" Mādhavācāryakṛtam, 8. H. 37. My avidity to examine this was immediately eaten up by the unfortunate information that this manuscript was lost. And so was also lost another historical record, Śilāśāsana patrikā, 8. H. 36, noted on *ibid.* p. 26b.

But what is this Kucaragrāmadānapatra and of kings of which dynasty does it give a genealogical list? The name Mādhavācārya put the idea into my mind that this must be a document bearing on Vijayanagar history.

While continuing my study of Sanskrit Literature during the Vijayanagar times, I came upon the information necessary to understand the entry in the Adyar Catalogue, Kucaragrāmadānapatra, the grant-deed of the village of Kucara. The Indian Antiquary, XLV, 1916, p. 5, the late Mm. Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar's article on Mādhavācārya and his younger brother, and the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the RAS, IV, 1852,—Major George Le Grand Jacob's article on Three copper-plate charters, pp. 97-116-, furnished the required information.

King Bukka I had two great Mādhavas as ministers: One was Mādhava of the Bhāradvājagotra, Bodhāyana-sūtra and Yajus-śākhā, the son of Māyana and Śrīmātī and the elder brother of Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha; this Mādhava had better be referred to as Mādhava Ācārya; he is the author of the Parāśaramādhaviya, the Kālamādhava etc. Different from him was his namesake, Mādhava mantrin, as we shall distinguish him, the son of Cāvuṇḍa of the Āṅgirasagotra and Mācāmbikā.¹ In Epigraphia Carnatica, VII, Shikarpur 281, we find details about this Mādhava mantrin. This epigraph is dated A.D. 1368. We

learn here that this Mādhava mantrin, the essence of both Brahma and Kṣātra, won the Aparānta territory on the western coast for Bukka I and was entrusted with the government of that country. He crushed the Turuṣkas and established temples for Śiva there. He was the pupil of Kāśīvilāsa Kriyāśakti Ācārya and was a Śaivite, a worshipper of God Tryambaka. He is referred to further as the establisher of the path of the Upaniṣads. He was administering the province under the governorship of Mārāpa, younger brother of the king, according to an epigraph of A.D. 1347. (Epi. Car. VIII, Sorab 375). Two more inscriptions of A.D. 1368 and 1384 also refer to his ruling the Banavāsi territory.

Besides these, there is one more inscription, and it is this that forms the original of the lost Adyar 'Kucaragrāmadānapatra.' Jacob (JBBRAS. IV. Old Series, pp. 107-110 and 115-116) gives the text and the substance of this inscription. After mentioning Saṅgama, Bukka and Harihara, the inscription says: By the order of Harihara II, Mādhava mantrin was ruling Banavāsi from Jayantīpura; after uprooting the Turuṣkas settled there, and capturing Goa from their hands, he established the worship of Hindu deities like Saptanātha. But when the grant mentioned in this inscription was made, *i.e.* in A.D. 1391, Mādhava mantrin was evidently dying; for his death is referred to and his successor, Narahari, described as a king and minister, and as a disciple of Vidyāśaṅkara, is mentioned in the inscription. Narahari, like Mādhava, was a Brāhmaṇa and a scholar; both Mādhava and Narahari are described as kings by virtue of their office. In A.D. 1391, Mādhava renamed the village named Kucara into Mādhavapura after himself, and granted it to 24 Brāhmaṇas. For the list of the 24 Brāhmaṇas, *see* JBBRAS., IV, OS, p. 109. The gift was made by Mādhava mantrin and the Śāsana was composed by perhaps somebody else. So Mādhava is not the author of the Śāsana.

It is this Mādhava mantrin, disciple of Kāśīvilāsa Kriyāśakti and worshipper of God Tryambaka, that wrote the commentary Tātparyadīpikā on the Sūtasamhitā (Ānandāśrama Series, No. 25). On p. 433 of his Sūtasamhitāvyākhyā, Mādhava mantrin cites, without mentioning the name of the author or of the work, the Vaiyāsika nyāya mālā of Bhāratīrtha, the pupil of Vidyātīrtha and the Guru of Māyana Mādhava and of the royal

house. Did Mādhava mantrin write any other work or works besides the Sūtasamhitāvvyākhyā? In most of his inscriptions he is referred to as Upaniṣanmārgapravartaka. It is true that large portions of the Sūtasamhitā are a mere resume of some of the principal Upaniṣads, but it cannot be said that Mādhava mantrin's claim to the title 'Upaniṣanmārgapravartaka' was based only on his Sūtasamhitāvvyākhyā. In an inscription of Mādhava mantrin edited by Mr. G. V. Acharya in the Ep. Ind. XXI, p. 17ff, Mādhava mantrin is described as commentator on all the Upaniṣads, as the publisher of Śaiva āgamas and as the author of poems.

—स निर्जितखिलभूपालः, सर्वोपनिषदां व्याकर्ता, शैवागमानां प्रकाशयिता, काव्यानां कर्ता, महादानानां विधाता etc.

It is by virtue of his Upaniṣad-vyākhyānas that he must have earned the title 'Upaniṣanmārgapravartaka'. That he did valuable work on the Śaiva āgamas is confirmed by another record dated Śaka 1268, a copper-plate grant of prince Mārāpa under whom Mādhava mantrin was governor. (Mysore Arch. Report for 1929, p. 159. No. 90). This inscription says with reference to Mādhava's literary work (p. 166):

त्रयीं समालोच्य पुराणसंहितां हिताय लोकस्य हि येन मन्त्रिणा ।

प्रसादितत्रयम्बकशासनात् कृतः समस्तशैवागमसारसङ्ग्रहः ॥

The Mysore Arch. Report (p. 172) is not correct in suggesting that this, after all, refers only to his Sūtasamhitāvvyākhyā. The Sūtasamhitā is hardly an Āgama or a compendium of all the Śaiva āgamas. From these two inscriptions we definitely know that Mādhava worked on the Śaiva āgamas and produced a compendium of all the Śaiva āgamas, (Samasta śaiva āgama sāra saṁgraha). I would suggest that the above verse is slightly in need of correction. 'Trayīm' in accusative must read 'Trayī' in nominative; 'Samālocya' must be the verb 'Samāloci':—

त्रयी समालोचि पुराणसंहिता etc.

which means: The Vedas were explained (उपनिषदां व्याकर्ता); the Purāṇasamhitā was explained (सूतसंहिताव्याख्या) and the essence of all the Śaiva āgamas was extracted in a compendium. Thus three works are referred to in this verse. None of these Upaniṣadvyākhyānas nor the Śaivāgamasārasaṅgraha of Mādhava has yet come to light; nor has any Kāvya of his been yet known.

In the Annual Report of the Mysore Arch. Department for 1934, pp. 124-126, is found the copy of a grant dated A.D. 1440 in the time of Devarāya II at Vijayanagar and of Puruṣottama bhārati at Śṛṅgerī, found in a palm-leaf ms. in the Śṛṅgeri Mutt. The donor here is Lakṣmaṇṇa, son of Bācaṇṇa Voḍeyar of Gōve, the son of Bommarasa of Ron of Ātreya gotra and Ṛk śākhā. The donor refers to previous grants by his elder Mādarasa and of his own father Bācaṇṇa.

It may be worth while to identify the names occurring in this grant. The Kucara-grāma-dāna-patra settles the identity of these persons. Bācaṇṇa is Bhāskara, younger brother of Narahari,—both sons of Brahmarasa (Bommarasa) of the Ātreya gotra. Their mother was Mambāmbikā. Narahari was the successor to Mādhava mantrin as the Governor of Goa. The following is the verse in the Kucara-grāma-dāna-patra about Narahari's family:

आत्रेयान्वयवारिधावुदभवन्मम्बाम्बिकागर्भतः

साक्षाद्ब्रह्मरसाभिधद्विजवराद्यो भास्करस्याग्रजः ।

विद्याशङ्करसत्कृपामृतरसासारेण संवर्धितो

विद्वत्कल्पमहीरुहो नरहरिः क्षोणीपतिर्भासते ॥

JBBRAS. IV. OS, p. 115.

The Mādarasa referred to in the other grant as an elder of Lakṣmaṇṇa is not any relation of his; he is identical with Mādhava mantrin.

There is as yet no evidence to fix the identity of Narahari and his brother Bhāskara. We know of a Narahari Somayājīn who was one of the three collaborating authors of the Sāyana Vedabhāṣya, to whom Harihara II's son Cikkarāya made a grant in A.D. 1381 and Harihara II himself, in A.D. 1386. There is a lexicographer Bhāskara of this court and of this time, and another Bhāskara of this court and of this time who wrote the Unmattarāghava (Kāvya-mālā, 17) on the occasion of a festival in honour of Śrī Vidyāraṇya.

The inscription edited by Mr. G. V. Acharya in Epi. Ind. XXI, p. 17ff is dated in the same year as the Kucara-grāma-dāna-patra, i.e., in A.D. 1391. Instead of giving Mādhava mantrin's gotra as Āṅgīrasa, it gives the gotra as Bhāradvāja. But Mr. Acharya explains that Āṅgīrasa is only a branch of Bhāradvāja and, in every other detail, the Mādhava described here is identical with the Governor of Goa, Mādhava mantrin.

In fact, many passages of this inscription agree verbally with passages in the Kucara-grāma-dāna-patra. In this grant also, Mādhava's successor, Narahari, son of Brahmarasa, of Ātreya gotra and pupil of Vidyāśaṅkara, is mentioned.

In his introduction to the text of this inscription, Mr. Acharya makes a mistake when he says with reference to the Kucara grant (JBBRAS. IV, p. 115):—

“The account given there agrees with that of the present document though it omits the name of Mādhava's father and gives the name of his mother, *i.e.*, Mambāmbikā, and of his elder brother Bhāskara.”

The Kucara grant refers neither to the father nor to the mother of Mādhava. Mambāmbikā, wife of Brahmarasa, is mentioned as Narahari's mother; and Bhāskara mentioned is the younger (not elder) brother of Narahari, and not of Mādhava.

TIRUPPŪR CŌḷĪSVARAM UDAIYĀR TEMPLE.

9th century (of Vijayālaya's days)

BY

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, M.A., L.T.,

Chidambaram

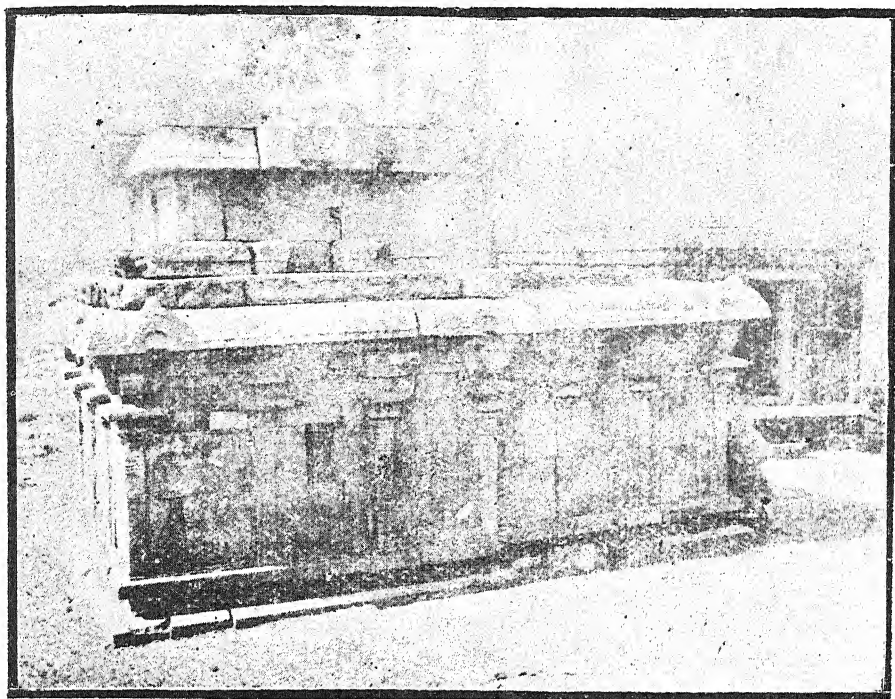
and

K. VENKATARANGA RAJU,

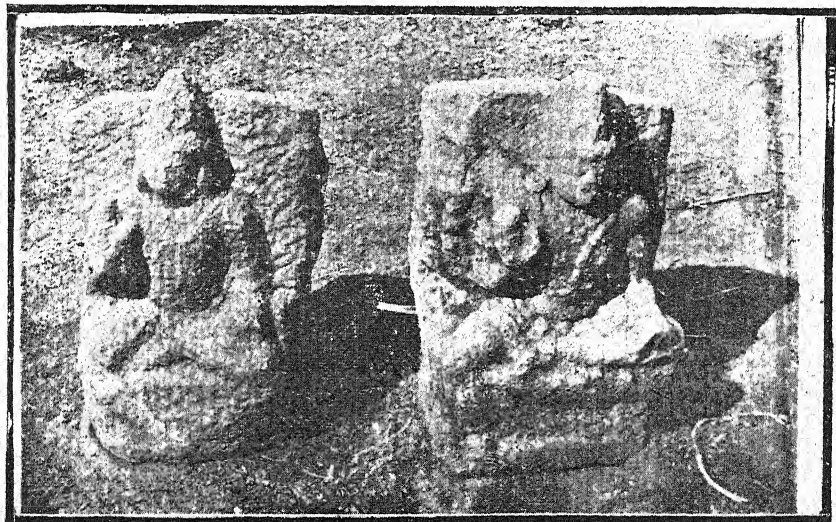
Pudukotah.

In our paper on Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi¹, we have referred to the fact that the Cōḷīśvara temple at Tiruppūr is, from stylistic considerations and also its shape and size, to be assigned to the same age.

Tiruppūr is a small village in the Vīrakkudiyaṭṭam of the Kuḷattūr Taluk of the Pudukottah State about 20 miles from the capital of the state and five miles from Kīraṇūr. The temple stands in the north-west corner of the village on the bund of the local tank. The structure is a replica of that of Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi and Viśālūr. The shrine consists of a *garbhagr̥ha* and a closed ante-chamber. It faces east. On plan the *garbhagr̥ha* is 7' 9" square and its walls are 1' 9" thick. The gateway measures 3' 2" in height and 2' 3" in breadth. The vestibule is six feet square. As in Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi and in Vijayālayacōḷīśvaram, there are no niches on the walls of the *garbhagr̥ha*. The pilasters are also of the same style. The corbels have an angular profile as in the two temples above referred to. The single arched cornice has *kūḍus* crowned with small trifoliated head. There is a *yālī* frieze above the cornice. The *grīvā* is provided with niches, which have *kūḍus* on the top. In these niches should have been housed the deities of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Dakṣiṇāmūrti. Only Brahmā in the north is in position and the other images are found near the basement, and the illustrations will prove their archaic character. Three of the four nandis which should have once adorned the four cardinal points round the



Śiva Temple—Tiruppūr.



Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Viṣṇu Sculptures—Tiruppūr.



Mahāvīra—Tiruppūr.

basement of the *śikhara* are found lying about. The *śikhara* is in ruins. Most of the stones at the top have fallen off. The shape of the *śikhara* is square at the bottom and curvilinear in shape. The interior is pyramidal, as in Kāliyāpaṭṭi.

We have already shown in our article on Kāliyāpaṭṭi that the *śikhara* of this temple resembles that of Kāliyāpaṭṭi, Viśālūr, Tirukattalai and Koḍumbālūr. But the *vimāna* at Koḍumbālūr is a two-storeyed structure surmounted with the *grīvā* and the *śikhara* including *stūpi* above. As we have said already there are 'precedents' as well as 'consequents' to this "square cupola-like umbrella at the top of the *vimāna*" of Koḍumbālūr which Father Heras considered totally unique in South Indian architecture and the Tiruppūr temple *vimāna* will be another precedent to that of Koḍumbālūr.

The lower edges of the cornice and the *śikhara* are adorned with a series of small semi-circles in the fringes. The *vimāna* should have also been decorated with stucco. There are no traces of sub-shrines all round. But there is a later *Ammāṇ* (Goddess) shrine built of laterite in the north-east corner of this temple.

The main shrine of the temple of Mārgasahāyeśvara at Viśālūr is in all respects similar to this, but the old main shrine has had various accretions in later times as in the case of Viśālūr. There is a mutilated inscription on the topmost layer of the basement on the south side of this temple of the 40th (?) year of Kulōttuṅga I. This is clear proof that the age of a temple cannot be determined solely from inscriptions on the monument. In this case mainly from stylistic considerations, this temple has to be assigned to the same age as that of Vijayālayacōliśvaram at Nārttāmalai and the Kāliyāpaṭṭi Śiva temple, *i. e.* to the period of Vijayālaya-Cōḷa who reigned in the latter half of the 9th century A. D.

The existence of Jainism in this region,—it should have been from at least the early centuries of the Christian era—is attested by the presence of a beautiful figure of a Jaina Tirthaṅkara on the southern edge of another tank to the south-west of this temple. Its measurements are given below:—

Total height 3' 8".

Height of the figure alone 1' 7"

Breadth from knee to knee 1' 7"

Width 2' 2"

Breadth from shoulder to shoulder 1' 0"

Height of pīṭham 1' 0".

The lion figures sculptured below the *pīṭham* point to the conclusion that it is a figure of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra. The face is weather-beaten and worn out. There is the usual triple umbrella above and two attendant spirits, perhaps Maṭaṅga and Siddhayika.

KĀLIDĀSA'S ŚRAVYA-KĀVYAS*

BY

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I esteem it a great honour and privilege to have been called upon to address the Madras Sanskrit Academy in connexion with the celebrations of the Kālidāsa Day. My studies in Sanskrit literature have been those of an amateur and I propose, therefore, to content myself with the humble, but not unpleasant duty of inviting your attention to some of the beautiful things in the writings of our great poet. I hope this will not appear inconsistent with the purpose for which we have met to-day.

I will confine myself this afternoon to a brief survey of Kālidāsa's poems excluding the consideration of his plays, for, within the limits of the time allotted to me, it would be impossible to treat of both adequately.

Whether *Rtusamhāra* is Kālidāsa's work or whether it is a poem fathered on him has long been a matter of critical controversy. Opinion seems inclined at present to favour Kālidāsa's authorship of it, as there is no serious internal evidence to contradict the traditional view.

Rtusamhāra is a poem descriptive of the sights and sounds of nature in the six seasons of the Indian year. The flowers that blossom in each season, the songs of the birds peculiar to each, the heat, sultriness, chill or other conditions of every season are alluded to in the first half of each canto, and in the second half the poet describes the jewels put on or off by women as befitting the different seasons and the manner in which lovers entertain themselves during each.

If *Rtusamhāra* is Kālidāsa's composition, it must be his earliest work, for there is a certain artificial symmetry in the

* Address delivered on the *Kālidāsa Day*, celebrated in Madras, by the Samskr̥ta Academy, Madras, on 3—10—1938.

description of the six seasons and of the entertainments of men and women in each. The voluptuous images are just what one would expect of a youthful poet and the reflections that arise from a contemplation of the weather are not very deep. The style is perfectly lucid.

Among the finest pictures in the lyric may be mentioned the graphic account of the forest fire in canto I of which the following is a free rendering: It is summer. The woodland tracts are burnt by the wild fire which spreads rapidly everywhere owing to the force of the wind. The fire leaps from the branches of trees to the creepers clinging to them. The dry bamboos crackle, the grass is consumed to ashes, the deer rush to and fro in a panic, the birds find no shelter among the leafless groves. In the hollows of trees the fire shines like gold and the wild animals in the woods forget their old feuds and rush from their caves to the beds of rivers.

Occasionally, however, the poet indulges in wild exaggeration, as when he speaks of the serpent resting its head on the tail of the peacock for shelter from the heat and of the peacock refraining from injuring its enemy.

When we turn from *Rtusamhāra* to *Meghasandeśa*, we are impressed by the great difference between apprentice work and the flawless workmanship of the mature artist. *Meghasandeśa* is a pure lyrical gem and by virtue of the harmonious blending in it of ingenious fancy and deep emotion, of its refined sentiments and varied descriptions, of the grace and liquidity of its diction and the pensive elegiac rhythm of its metre, it stands unsurpassed in excellence by any lyric of equal length in any language. The theme is extremely simple: a Yakṣa separated from his wife by his master's curse, sends a message to his beloved by a passing cloud. But into this simple framework what a fine knowledge of the human heart, what a variety of description and what exquisite reflections on human life now sad, now playful, have been fitted by the poet!

In the first eleven stanzas which form the introduction the poet describes the Yakṣa's curse and his residence in the shady groves of Rāmagiri, the appearance of the cloud on the slope of the hill, the Yakṣa's resolve to send a message to his beloved at Alakā by the cloud and his inability, owing to the blindness of passion, to perceive the unfitness of the cloud for his purpose.

The Yakṣa greets the cloud and welcomes him with fresh flowers and begs him to convey his message to his beloved, for is not the cloud the refuge of all who suffer from the fires of the world?

The remainder of the first part of *Meghasandēśa* is devoted to a description of the route to be taken by the cloud. The artistic difficulty that the poet had to face here is obvious. The account of the route consisting of the cities, mountains and rivers that the cloud had to pass during the journey was apt to become in the hands of a lesser poet flat and monotonous. Several mountains lie on the way, and what the cloud had to see and do at each must be different. So also while at each of the many streams on the way, the cloud had to do something new and different so that the description might not become a bare enumeration and avoid also repetition and monotony. With exquisite poetic tact and a playful fancy, Kālidāsa contrives to secure variety of interest. Let the cloud bid farewell, says the Yakṣa, to the mountain Rāmāgiri, his dear friend, who still bears the sacred marks of the footsteps of Śrī Rāma. Whenever the cloud returns to the mountain after a separation, the latter shows his delight with warm vaporous sighs. When the cloud starts from the top of the hill, the silly Siddha women will wonder whether a peak has detached itself from the mountain and is flying off. The mountain Āmrakūṭa will welcome the cloud with grateful joy and bear him, as it were, on his head, for has not the cloud quenched the fire in his forests with his showers? Even small men show love to those who have done good to them. How then could one who is so lofty remain thankless? At another mountain the cloud will do well to rest awhile in the bowers of the woodsmen and then to start towards the Vindhya range. On the Himālayas, he will see the rocks rendered fragrant by the muskdeer and may happen to encounter Śarabhas springing upon him with fury. The cloud should drive them off with his hailstones. Proceeding further he will see the pass in the rocks made by Subrahmanya through which the swans migrate to the Mānasa Lake. He will then reach Mount Kailās where, if he should have the privilege of seeing the Lord Śiva walking arm in arm with Gaurī, he should reverently freeze himself into a hard stair-case for their ascent.

In speaking about the rivers on the way to Alakā, the Yakṣa becomes even more varied in his fancies. The cloud is

the lover or the husband of the rivers. The stream Nirvindhya has become thin and pale owing to her long separation from the cloud. So when he returns to her, he should so comport himself that she becomes healthy and happy again. On reaching the Ganges and while hanging over her waters the cloud will create by his reflection below the illusion of the Jumna having united with the Ganges even above Prayāg. The river Gambhīrā will look at her cloud-lover with eager longing glances when the fish leap about, and the cloud will do well not to disappoint her love. When he reaches the Carmaṇvatī, he should bring to his mind the legend of the origin of the stream from the blood of the cows sacrificed by Rantideva.

In describing the cities on the way the Yakṣa refers naturally to their importance in ancient history and legend. Kurukṣetra will, for example, remind the cloud of the exploits of Arjuna in the great war. Though Ujjain is not on the direct route, the cloud should make it a point to visit the city and to play with the timid glances of the women when he lightens. He will become fat there by the fumes of incense issuing through the windows of the mansions. Ujjain is an Earthly Paradise and the cool breeze of the waters of the Śiprā blows gently on lovers early in the morning. At night the cloud will earn the gratitude of the light women of the city by showing them their way in the darkness with his lightning.

Having thus rendered his account of the route beautiful with the colours of fancy, the poet in the second part displays his insight into the hearts of lovers suffering from separation. Equally wonderful is the sense of proportion or evolution with which he builds up the lyric theme. Having reached Alakā, the cloud has still to find the Yakṣa's house. The splendour of the capital of the God of Wealth is appropriately described in the first seven or eight ślokas. The lofty houses pointing to the sky and built of marble, the abundance of gold and precious stones in every mansion, the parks and gardens where young men and women entertain themselves—these have to be portrayed before the Yakṣa tells the cloud to find his own house among them. And here in the description of the Yakṣa's house, Kālidāsa shows his pictorial imagination. The representation is what we should expect of a painter. The Yakṣa's house is to the north of Kubera's palace and there is an arch with variegated colours erected in front of it. At its entrance is a young Mandāra tree brought up like a child by his wife and bearing flowers which

can be reached with the hand. Close by is a lovely tank with steps of emerald on which swans glide gaily. On its bank is a pleasure-house where the cloud will find a red Aśoka tree, and in that pleasure-house he will see a crystal perch resting on a golden support where his wife used to train her favourite peacock to dance. All this description might well form a beautiful picture drawn by an artist. The house having been identified, the cloud should be helped to recognize the Yakṣa's wife. The Yakṣa grows eloquent over her charms, but soon realizes with sadness that she must now be completely altered in appearance owing to the grief of separation. Her eyes would be red with frequent weeping, her lips would have become pale with the hot breath of incessant sighs. She would be rapt in pensive thought resting her cheek on the palm of her hand. Or she would be found in an attempt to entertain herself with drawing her husband's portrait, imagining his love-lorn appearance. Or she may be asking her pet शारिका in the cage, "Dost thou remember my lord! for thou wert his great favourite?" Or she will compose a song with his name in it and play it on the Vīṇā when the tears will fall from her eyes on the strings and she will forget the words though composed by herself. In these fifteen or sixteen ślokas where the Yakṣa describes the sorrow-stricken state of his wife, Kālidāsa shows his deep knowledge of the tender hearts of women. The picture of cultured luxury and refinement that the poet draws before us in the account of his house and of his wife's condition during his absence is extremely vivid and is unsurpassed in its rich elegance and the delicacy of its colouring. There is not the least trace of anything commonplace. From the 31st stanza to the end of the poem is the the message itself. The cloud should introduce himself to the lady as her husband's friend who has brought her his message. He should then tell her that her husband is alive at Rāmāgiri and that he seeks her resemblance in the eyes of the deer, in the face of the moon, in the tail of the peacock, but does not find it anywhere. He draws her portrait on the rock, but leaves it incomplete owing to the tears that blind his eyes. He dreams of her constantly and welcomes the north wind in the hope that it may have come into contact with her person. He wants her to take heart in this great sorrow which will soon pass away:—

कस्यास्यन्तं सुखमुपनतं दुःखमेकान्ततो वा
नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिक्रमेण ॥

In four months he will be with her and then they will enjoy a thousand-fold those blissful delights of which they have been deprived till now.

The constructive power that Kālidāsa shows in this progressive movement of thought and emotion leading step by step to the final message is admirable evidence of the ripeness of his art.

Kumārasambhava.

It is difficult to determine from internal evidence whether *Kumārasambhava* preceded or followed *Meghasandēśa*. In point of artistic beauty it does not show any superiority to the shorter poem. If the tradition connected with अस्ति कश्चिद्वाग्विशेषः were to be any indication of the chronological order of the composition of the three great poems, it must have preceded *Meghasandēśa*. In *Kumārasambhava* Kālidāsa was lucky in the choice of his theme, as the story of the birth of Subrahmaṇya easily lends itself to unity of impression or interest. The gods suffer from the oppression and tyranny of the demon Tāraka and seek Brahmā's help. He advises them to bring about the union of Śiva and Pārvatī, as only the son born to them will have the strength to lead the army of the gods against the Asura. The circumstances seem favourable, as Śiva is now performing penance on one of the slopes of the mountain and Pārvatī has been asked by her father to minister to him. Indra seeks the help of Manmatha who, being humoured, proceeds on his dangerous mission. He aims his arrow at the Lord of the three eyes when Pārvatī is standing before him. Śiva feels a slight perturbation of the heart, and becoming aware of Manmatha's foolhardiness, burns him to ashes with the fire of his eye. The death of Manmatha has caused a complication and the gods are perplexed. Pārvatī too, who has determined to dedicate herself to the love of Śiva is struck with grief and, with the permission of her parents, performs severe austerities. Śiva is at last gracious and after a preliminary test of her devotion to himself marries her and the birth of Kumāra becomes possible.

Here we have the interest of a good story in which the incidents are inter-related and interwoven into an organic whole.

The first canto begins with a description of the mountain Himavān, which is, for the greater part, conventional. The reader feels that Kālidāsa saw the Himālayas, as it were, from a distance, and not as one who had been on the heights. Much is

said about the Śarabhas, the lions and the elephants. These could have been found only in the forest regions in the lower reaches of the mountain. The conventional Kinnaras and Siddhas traverse the upper regions with their wonted songs and loves. But the bitter cold and snow of even the moderate heights are not even barely hinted at. The word हिम occurs, it is true, once or twice, but the shivering cold is not rendered as vividly as one with actual experience of hill scenery and hill climate would have described it. The beauty of Pārvatī is then sought to be depicted in a number of stanzas. It has to be admitted that the commonplace similes of the lotus, the moon, the swan, the plantain and the like predominate and that there is very little of suggestive delineation. The second canto written in the simple अनुष्टुप् metre shows a higher imaginative art. Br̥haspati's praise of Brahmā is in an elevated style. The sublimity of its phrasing is surpassed only by the similar praise of Viṣṇu by Brahmā in the *Raghuvamśa*. The tale of wrong and oppression suffered by the gods is poetically set forth, and Brahmā's reply, brief as it is, is marked by dignity and is worthy of his divine nature. The third canto reveals varied poetic qualities. It begins with the spirited boast of Manmatha that he will accomplish whatever his master, Indra, wants of him. With only Vasanta or Spring for his aid and with only flowers for his arrows he will melt the stout heart of even the supreme Śiva:—

तव प्रसादात् कुसुमायुधोऽपि सहायमेकं मधुमेव लब्ध्वा ।

कुर्यां हरस्यापि पिनाकपाणेर्धैर्यच्युतिं के मम धन्विनोऽन्ये ॥

In Manmatha's unawareness of the extreme peril into which his foolish boast has brought him, Kālidāsa has effectively employed the device of tragic irony. The effects of the untimely arrival of Spring or Vasanta are then vividly presented in a few ślokas. A comparison of them with the stanzas on Spring in the last canto of *R̥tusamhāra* will illustrate the surer grip of the mature artist and his deeper power of reflection. After the usual enumeration of the buds and blossoms that greeted the approach of Spring the poet describes the effects of the season on man and the rest of creation. The deer sought their mates, the cuckoo's sweet notes resounded in the forests, the sages performing penance were surprised at the rise of desire in their hearts. The bee and the elephant felt the urge of instinct. Only the warning of Nandī kept Śiva's attendants from the light behaviour to

which the season inclined them. At his stern command, the trees stood motionless, the bees sat still, the fledglings of birds kept silent, the deer ceased to roam about. The forest suspended all its movements and resembled a forest painted in a picture:—

निष्कम्पवृक्षं निभृतद्विरेफं मूकाण्डजं शान्तमृगप्रचारम् ।
तच्छासनात् काननमेव सर्वं चित्रार्पितारम्भमिवावतस्थे ॥

Pārvatī's entrancing beauty as she approaches Śiva for service is also successfully pictured before the mind's eye. In marked contrast with the description of her charms from head to foot in set phrases in the first canto which leaves us cold, the poet here suggests to the reader's imagination the radiant brightness of her beauty by dwelling upon its effect on the beholder. Manmatha who had lost all his courage at the awful sight of Śiva in meditation now recovered from his despair and felt more hopeful.

तां वीक्ष्य सर्वावयवानवद्यां रतेरपि ह्रीपदमादधानाम् ।
जितेन्द्रिये शूलिनि पुष्पचापः स्वकार्यसिद्धिं पुनराशशंसे ॥

And the stanza in which the poet relates how the fire issuing from Śiva's eyes reduced Manmatha to ashes inspires the reader with awe by its quick movement, by the condensed force of its expression and by the effective repetition of the word *संहर*.

क्रोधं प्रभो संहर संहरेति यावद्विरः खे मरुतां चरन्ति ।
तावत् स बहिर्भवनेत्रजन्मा भस्मावशेषं मदनं चकार ॥

The dramatic vigour and realism of the different scenes in this canto incline the reader to place it among Kālidāsa's supreme efforts. In the fourth canto which is devoted to the lament of Rati at the death of her husband, Kālidāsa is in his element. His keen insight into the sorrows of love, his feminine tenderness in understanding women's feelings and giving them the expression appropriate to their nature, his mastery of pathos and his power of making the sound echo the sense by the choice of the right metrical form—the combination of these high poetical qualities excites the unstinted admiration of every discerning reader.

In his power of evoking the tender feelings and in the perfect felicity of his diction, Kālidāsa has few rivals in Sanskrit poetry. Vālmīki alone can be said to surpass him and Bhavabhūti only occasionally approaches him. While reading these ślokas one is

reminded of the kindred genius of Coleridge, Keats and Rossetti in English poetry. Had I the time and competence, I would illustrate the rare charm of all the thirty odd ślokas of this lament by rendering them into English, but I am afraid my attempt would only cause pain to all readers who have appreciated the original. How perfectly true to human emotion and how wonderfully simple and happy is the following stanza, for example, among others of equal beauty:—

अयि संप्रति देहि दर्शनं स्मर पर्युत्सुक एष माधवः ।

दयितास्वनवस्थितं नृणां न खलु प्रेम चलं सुहृज्जे ॥

“My beloved ! Open your eyes and behold your friend Mādhava who is eager to see you. Men are sometimes fickle in their love to women but are constant in their friendship to men.” With great reluctance, then, I pass rapidly from the fourth canto to the fifth, where the disappointed Pārvatī who has set her heart on winning the love of Śiva even at the risk of her life leaves the house for the forest with the permission of her parents and performs austerities of a severe nature exposing her fair form to the sun and the rain. The poetic powers that stirred the chords of pity in the contemplation of Rati's grief are now exerted with equal force in evoking admiration for the firm determination and defiance of physical discomfort that Pārvatī displays. As if by way of relief the poet next presents the scene of Śiva in the disguise of a Brahmacārin meeting his future wife and testing the strength of her love to himself. In the account of the interview between Śiva and Pārvatī and especially in the Brahmacārin's ridicule of Śiva, Kālidāsa reveals his capacity for humour. In the 6th canto, the marriage of Umā and Śiva is resolved upon, thanks to the negotiations of the seven sages. The ritual and the festivities of the wedding are then described at considerable length in the 7th canto. The eighth is devoted to an account of what we might call the honeymoon of the divine bride and bridegroom. Though Kālidāsa's treatment of their love on the human plane may be justified on the ground of the need for securing human interest, there are some ślokas in the eighth canto where the reader feels that Kālidāsa has over-stepped the bounds of propriety and taste. One wonders whether all the rigid austerities of Pārvatī's former penance and the unshakable determination with which she persisted in them were merely for this grossly sensual enjoyment.

Raghuvamśa

As it seems to be agreed on all hands that Kālidāsa's work in *Kumārasambhava* concluded with the eighth canto, I will now say a few words about the ripest of his great poems, the *Raghuvamśa*. When I call it the ripest of his poems, I do not mean that it is free from defects. I daresay it satisfies all the requirements of the definition of a महाकाव्य given by Sanskrit writers on poetics, but there is an inherent defect in it from which *Kumārasambhava* is free although it is not so full an expression of the author's genius. In writing of the race of Raghus the author chose a theme which by its very nature could not have a unity of interest or impression. As it is, the poem is a series of episodes having only the sequence of chronological succession. Like Shakespeare in some of his history plays, the author has presented a string of episodes which tradition had accumulated about the royal line of the Raghus and has exercised his poetic genius in enlivening some of them and breathing life into a few of the persons. It is a poem, therefore, of unequal merit and shows heights of imaginative power preceded or followed by low-lying flats of prosaic narrative or dreary genealogical accounts, like canto 18. What Kālidāsa's object could have been in choosing this intractable subject is difficult now to guess. It cannot be maintained that Rāma, the greatest of the Raghus, is the centre of attraction and that the accounts of his ancestors and descendants are only the introduction and the conclusion to that main theme. The representation of Rāma's greatness in *Raghuvamśa* cannot, either by its length or by its poetical merit, be considered as over-shadowing that of the other figures. The birth of Aja, Indumati's choice of him in her स्वयंवर, his romantic love and his inconsolable grief at her death seem to be as prominent as the story of Rāma, if not more prominent. Had Kālidāsa some patron in view who claimed his descent from Raghu? If so, who was it? It could not have been the sickly effeminate voluptuary whose sensuality forms the subject of the last canto. Why does the poem end with this disreputable life when it could easily have been continued without any unity being violated? These are questions to which an amateur like myself can give no satisfactory answers.

I will therefore just recall to your mind some of the scenes or episodes in the long pageant of the history of the Raghus over

which Kālidāsa has shed the light of his poetic imagination. In the first two cantos Dilīpa's grief caused by childlessness and his devotion to the service of the sacred cow give the poet opportunities for idyllic representations of scenes of pastoral charm. The third canto describing Sudakṣiṇā's pregnancy has a realistic beauty though a prudish Englishman of the Victorian age might shrug his shoulders at some of the details. Though Kālidāsa has taken kings and courts for his argument, he delights in depicting the simple joys and sorrows of domestic life which are common alike to prince and peasant as against the pomps and processions of royalty. The joy of parents when their child smiles or when it learns to walk and to utter a few words is, for example, vividly rendered in ślokas 25 and 26 of the third canto:—

उवाच धात्र्या प्रथमोदितं वचो ययौ तदीयामवलम्ब्य चाङ्गुलीम् ।
 अभूच्च नम्रः प्रणिपातशिक्षया पितुर्मुदं तेन ततान सोऽर्भकः ॥
 तमङ्कमारोप्य शरीरयोगजैः सुखैर्निषिञ्चन्तमिवामृतं त्वचि ।
 उपान्तसंमीलितलोचनो नृपश्चिरात् सुतस्पर्शरसज्ञतां ययौ ॥

Raghu's conquests and his performance of the Viśvajit form the theme of the fourth canto. To my mind the interview between Raghu and Kautsa which follows has a far greater appeal. Perhaps the most original section of *Raghuvamśa* is cantos 6, 7 and 8 in which Kālidāsa describes Indumatī's *Svayamvara*, the eagerness with which the women in the city rushed to the windows of their houses in order to have a look at the handsome prince whom their princess had chosen and the wedding rites that followed. These two cantos are justly famous and have on that account had several imitations. Kālidāsa seems to have delighted in them himself, for he has a number of ślokas on the same theme in *Kumārasambhava* also. The eighth canto which represents Aja's sorrow at Indumatī's untimely death is rivalled in its pathos and the propriety of its sentiments and phrasing only by the similar lament of Rati in *Kumārasambhava*. A close comparison of the two laments will reveal also the subtle differences preserved between a woman's way of expressing her grief and a man's. The canto concludes fittingly with the deep wisdom of Vasiṣṭha's words of consolation:—

मरणं प्रकृतिः शरीरिणां विकृतिर्जीवितमुच्यते बुधैः ।
 क्षणमप्यवतिष्ठते श्वसन् यदि जन्तुर्ननु लाभवानसौ ॥

सशरीरशरीरिणावपि श्रुतसंयोगविपर्ययौ यदा ।

विरहः किमिवानुतापयेद्बद बाह्वैर्विषयेर्विपश्चितम् ॥

न पृथग्जनवच्छुचो वशं वशिनामुत्तम गन्तुमर्हसि ।

दुमसानुमतां किमन्तरं यदि वायौ द्वितयेऽपि ते चलाः ॥

The poet adds with his true insight into the human heart that wise as these words were, they bore no comfort to Aja in his great grief. Kālidāsa's tact is nowhere better seen than in his handling of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in cantos 10, 11 and 12. A mightier poet than even he had already treated of it in a supremely realistic manner and it would have been an audacious attempt to cover the same ground at any length. Any elaboration of the well-known episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* would invite comparisons in which Kālidāsa might suffer. So with his wonted tact, he condenses in three or four ślokas the story of the Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa so dramatically narrated by Vālmīki and in the hundred odd ślokas of the 12th canto Kālidāsa rapidly summarises the events of the whole story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the 13th canto he finds an opportunity of being original and devotes it to a description of Rāma's flight with Sītā for Ayodhyā in Rāvaṇa's ærial car. He points out to her at first the scenes of his former wanderings in search of her and afterwards of his life in the woods in her company. The fourteenth canto continues the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* after Rāma's coronation by narrating the banishment of Sītā. In the message that Sītā sends Rāma by Lakṣmaṇa who has, with tears in his eyes, broken to her the orders of his brother to leave her in the forest, we have another instance of Kālidāsa's command over pathos. One wonders whether in the combination of queenly dignity, subtle reproach and melting tenderness which they embody, stanzas 60-67 of the 14th canto are surpassed by any other passage in any literature:—

अश्रूजनं सर्वमनुक्रमेण विज्ञापय प्रापितमत्प्रणामः ।

प्रजानिषेकं मयि वर्तमानं सूनोरनुध्यायत चेतसीति ॥

वाच्यस्त्वया मद्बचनात् स राजा वह्नौ विशुद्धामपि यत् समक्षम् ।

मां लोकवादश्रवणादहासीः श्रुतस्य किं तत् सदृशं कुलस्य ॥

कल्याणबुद्धेरथवा तवेयं न कामचारो मयि दर्शनीयः ।

ममैव जन्मान्तरपातकानां विपाकविस्फूर्जथुरप्रसङ्गः ॥

निशाचरोपप्लवभर्तृकानां तपस्विनीनां भवतः प्रसादात् ।

भूत्वा शरण्या शरणार्थमन्यं कथं प्रपत्स्ये त्वयि दीप्यमाने ॥

साहं तपः सूर्यनिविष्टदृष्टिरूर्ध्वं प्रसूतेश्वरितुं यतिष्ये ।
भूयो यथा मे जननान्तरेऽपि त्वमेव भर्ता न च विप्रयोगः ॥

Sītā says to Lakṣmaṇa:—

Convey my regards to my mothers-in-law and beg them on my behalf to remember the spark of their son within me. Kindly say to the king in my name, "Is your desertion of me for fear of gossip after having seen me pass through the ordeal of fire, worthy of your learning or of your race? You are however wise and are not perhaps self-willed in your treatment of me. It is the deadly sins of my previous birth that have borne their fruit in this. When I was in the forest in your company some time ago, I offered protection to the wives of the sages performing penance, when they trembled from the attacks of the Rākṣasas. How then shall I now seek their protection when you are ruling in all your splendour? I should be indifferent to this wretched life of mine but for the spark of yours which I bear in me. So I will practise rigid austerities after the birth of my child fixing my eyes on the sun that I may have you for my lord in my next birth also and that there may be no further separation between us."

And when Lakṣmaṇa had taken leave of her saying that he would deliver her message to the king, she cried aloud, the poet says, in the heaviness of her great sorrow like a Kurārī or osprey struck with fright. What a profound insight into the heart of true love is revealed in these stanzas! Sītā had contained herself as long as Lakṣmaṇa was in her presence. The moment he passed beyond her vision, she could no longer repress her grief and burst into a loud scream. The imaginative reader whose heart is pierced with the anguish of this passage is soon restored to serenity by the account of her meeting Vālmīki and of the words of consolation that fell from his lips.

Of the remaining cantos the most interesting is the 16th where the guardian deity of the deserted Ayodhyā appears before Kuśa and after bewailing the ruins of the city and the palace, begs him to return to the capital of his ancestors. The latter part of the canto where the poet pictures Kuśa's जलक्रीडा and the circumstances in which he married Kumudvatī is also of a fairly high poetical level. The next canto (18) is perhaps the least poetical in the *Raghuvamśa*. It is a bare enumeration of some fifty odd kings that reigned after Kuśa's son Atithi and before Agnivarṇa,

whose sensual indulgence and the consequent debility and disease that laid him low are the theme of the last canto.

I feel guilty of having already taxed your patience and shall therefore conclude with a few general observations on Kālidāsa's distinctive qualities as a poet.

Next to Vālmīki he is the most limpid of Sanskrit poets and this limpidity is combined with a happy felicity in his diction. His similes have been justly extolled for their appropriateness. Candour will, however, require the admission of a few examples of unpoetic pedantry. Occasionally we find an abstruse simile from the science of grammar or of Vedic ritual for illustrating a very simple idea which does not need any elucidation. Observe, for example, the following simile in the *Raghuvamśa* which Kālidāsa repeats in *Kumārasambhava* also:—

स हत्वा वालिनं वीरस्तत्पदे चिरकाङ्क्षिते ।

धातोः स्थान इवादेशं सुग्रीवं संन्यवेशयत् ॥

"After slaying Vālin, Rāma established Sugrīva on his throne like the आदेश which takes the place of the root in the conjugation of a verb."

Or the following:—

रामादेशादनुगता सेना तस्यार्थसिद्धये ।

पश्चादध्ययनार्थस्य धातोरधिर्वाभवत् ॥

Even the most devoted of the poet's admirers will concede that it is not happy to drag in the prefix अधि which goes before the root इ for the comparison of an army that went before Śatrughna.

So also is the simile of an exceptional rule overriding the application of a general law:—

यः कश्चन रघूणां हि परमेकः परंतपः ।

अपवाद इवोत्सर्गं व्यावर्तयितुमीश्वरः ॥

Sometimes Kālidāsa tries to illustrate what is simple by what is recondite and metaphysical. He says, for example, that the lake Brahma-saras is the source of the river Sarayū even as अव्यक्त gives rise to बुद्धि. Sudakṣiṇā follows the cow with devotion like the *Smṛtis* following the spirit or content of the *Śrūtis*. But these few instances are like the spots in the sun. In general his similes are extremely felicitous. I may be permitted to give one

or two instances. The rivals of Aja, disappointed in their expectations, preserved an outward calm while harbouring an inward hatred, like the waters of a deep lake wherein crocodiles lie concealed. The guardian deity of Ayodhyā appeared before Kuśa in his bed-chamber even though the doors remained shut, like the image of a person passing through a looking glass. Having heard of Rāma's breaking Śiva's bow, Paraśurāma has come to challenge Rāma to a single combat like a sleeping serpent awakened by the rattling of a stick. Raghu who had resigned his sovereignty in favour of his son Aja would not resume it when pressed by the latter with tears in his eyes. Would the serpent wear again the slough cast off before? Sometimes Kālidāsa makes an effective rhetorical use of antithesis as when in the eighth canto of the *Raghuvamśa* he contrasts Raghu and Aja who assumed respectively the roles of a वानप्रस्थ and a sovereign.

It has also to be said to the credit of Kālidāsa that he makes a sparing use of the figures उत्प्रेक्षा, श्लेष, विरोध and the like. An indulgence in them by later poets brought about the decadence of Sanskrit poetry. He does employ श्लेष but only on rare occasions, as if to show that he could display his ingenuity as well as any other poet if he chose.

There are over fifty stanzas in the ninth canto of the *Raghuvamśa* in which he makes a clever employment of यमक. But these verbal tricks do not appear elsewhere. Some of you will perhaps wonder at my including उत्प्रेक्षा among the causes of the later decline of Sanskrit poetry. I admit that a simple उत्प्रेक्षा may sometimes be poetical, but when it becomes subtle, ingenious and far-fetched, it becomes a vicious conceit distracting the attention of the reader from the emotion or रस, the story, and the characters to the cleverness of the poet which just raises a smile. When, for example, an author makes his lover say, 'Beautiful lady, the lotus clings to your feet with grateful joy, for the pride of the moon who is the enemy of its race that prevents it from blossoming in the night has been put down by the superior beauty of your countenance', the lover does not help us so much to realise the resemblance of his mistress's feet to the lotus as to smile at his own cleverness. An excessive indulgence in conceits of this kind is surely a mark of poetic decadence. Kālidāsa, one is happy to find, never goes to this excess in the

use of उत्प्रेक्षा. There are, however, a few conceits in the description of Pārvati's beauty and of sunset and darkness in the 1st canto of *Kumārasambhava* which are not free from this affectation.

Among the poetic excellences of Kālidāsa, that which strikes us first is his pictorial imagination which I alluded to in connexion with the second part of *Meghasandēśa*. Other instances of this word-painting are found in the picture of desolation drawn in the 16th canto of *Raghuvamśa* where the ruins of the city of Ayodhyā are described. Every reader can easily visualise the picture in his own imagination. As a descriptive poet, Kālidāsa shows a weakness in his battle-scenes which never strike the note of martial vigour or heroism. In *Raghuvamśa*, scenes of battle and conquest are plentiful, but none of them with the exception of Paraśurāma's वीरवाक्य before Rāma in canto 11 can be said to excite the right emotion. Occasionally there is even a lapse of propriety of taste in the representation of defeat or death. One or two examples are perhaps necessary to justify this remark. Tātaka's death where a double meaning is hinted at by the force of श्लेष has been rightly pointed out by writers on poetics as wanting in propriety or औचित्य.

राममन्मथशरेण ताडिता दुःसहेन हृदये निशाचरी ।

गन्धवद्रुचिरचन्दनोक्षिता जीवितेशवसतिं जगाम सा ॥

So also is the attempt at playfulness and humour in the picture of Aja's foes killed by him in battle:—

कश्चिद्द्विषत्खड्गहृतोत्तमाङ्गः सद्यो विमानप्रभुतामुपेत्य ।

वामाङ्कसंसक्तसुराङ्गनः खं नृत्यत्कबन्धं समरे ददर्श ॥

I am given to understand that ślokas similar to this have been praised very highly in ध्वन्यालोक for the harmonious blending of वीभत्स and शृङ्गार; but to my untutored mind, the playfulness and शृङ्गार seem misplaced in a context descriptive of the horror of death.

Kālidāsa's real excellence lies in the tenderness and delight with which he depicts the primary affections of human nature, the coy love of maidens, the self-surrendering devotion of the husband and the wife to each other, the love of children and their innocent ways, the idyllic charm of quiet scenes of wood-

land life rendered holy by the abode of sages and the pathetic lament of the wife or the husband at the sorrow caused by death. I have referred to many an episode illustrative of these poetic merits of his. To them may be added the genuine delight in nature that he has revealed in his poems and plays. Nature is, to him, as to Wordsworth, alive. Even the meanest flower that blows, enjoys the air it breathes. The Yakṣa's wife looks upon the Mandāra tree as her adopted child and bestows loving care on it. Vālmiki consoles Sītā after her cruel banishment by saying that, watering the plants and trees near his hermitage, she will experience the love of a mother even before the birth of her child. The reader may remember also Śakuntalā's tenderness to the plants in the forest. Though the author of the playful fancies of the पूर्वमेव and of the interview between the Brahmacārin and Pārvatī in *Kumārasambhava* cannot be denied the claim to a humourist, yet Kālidāsa's *forte* lay in the direction of pathos and tenderness. One thinks of रतिविलाप, अजविलाप, and Sītā's message to Rāma in connexion with Kālidāsa's name rather than of the power of depicting heroism or appealing to the sense of humour. He is the poet of sensuous loveliness and his poetic style is everywhere marked by the presence of beauty. The sublimity to which the simple style of Vālmiki easily and frequently soars was not always within his reach. I can only think of the gods' praise of Brahmā in *Kumārasambhava* and of the praise of Viṣṇu by Brahmā in *Raghuvamśa* as illustrations of the elevated or grand style in all his poems.

I have to crave your indulgence for just a word more before I finish. Kālidāsa's art as a metrist requires far closer study than I have been able to give it. Professor Keith has indeed enumerated the various metres employed by him in his poems and plays, but bare enumeration does not bring out the wonderful sense of propriety with which Kālidāsa chooses a certain metre as the best fitted for a certain emotional effect.

As an admirer and imitator of Vālmiki, he knew the capacities of the simple Anuṣṭup for the rapid narration of a story and for the condensation of a lengthy action within a brief compass. Kālidāsa knew also how the Anuṣṭup often enables the poet to attain to the exalted or sublime style far better than longer metres. He was aware of the simple stateliness or grandeur of Vālmiki's

रामं दशरथं विद्धि मां विद्धि जनकात्मजाम् ।
 अयोध्यामटवीं विद्धि गच्छ तात यथासुखम् ॥
 यथा काष्ठं च काष्ठं च समेयातां महोदधौ ।
 समेत्य च व्यपेयातां तद्वद्भूतसमागमः ॥

And in the two passages that I referred to as instances of Kālidāsa's sublimity he has wisely followed his great master in choosing the Anuṣṭup for the purpose. It is recognised by all readers that the movement of the *Mandākrāntā* in *Meghasandēśa* is extremely appropriate to the pensive, melancholy note that is struck in the poem.

In Aja-Vilāpa the adoption of the *Viyoginī* metre is a master stroke of metrical art. I have had the privilege of hearing the stanzas in question recited by a great scholar with a fine musical voice and a true sense of verbal music. Since then I have realised Kālidāsa's rare power of making the sound an echo to the sense and of wedding perfect music unto noble words. The śloka of the Rati-Vilāpa are in the same metre *वियोगिनी* which every reader with a sense of melody would appreciate as the aptest verse-form for the emotion embodied in the words. In such contexts the perfect harmony of thought, word, and rhythm created by the poet throws the reader into a mood of rapture and makes him forget the few faults of style and taste that I have ventured to indicate.

THEORIES OF ABLAUT

PART II.

BY

C. R. SANKARAN.

(Continued from J.O.R.M., Vol. XII, Pt. iii, Page 287.)

We have seen at some length in the previous instalment of this paper¹ Streitberg's theory. We have to remember that there are serious objections to this theory.² The real cause of *vrddhi* still remains in obscurity. It is however recognised to be an alternative substitute for *guṇa*—an extra-strong grade—whose function even in the primitive Indo-European is analogous to that in Sanskrit. Sometimes its corresponding ordinary grade cannot be exactly traced, due to the influence of accent in monosyllables. Streitberg's theory did not take into account its connection with accent. Dehnstufe is a variety of the strong grade itself. Sometimes the strong vowel, like *ē*, may both belong to Vollstufe and Dehnstufe. According to modern scholars, Sanskrit *ā* is not only the *vrddhi* form of *a*, but also a *guṇa* vowel³. These scholars obviously do not follow the teaching of Pāṇini here. (अदेङ्गुणः P. I, i. 2.) There may have been several factors involved in lengthening. For instance, we have, in historical times, many purely physiological processes of lengthening as the compensative lengthening attendant on consonant reduction and loss like *ēs* from *ens*, etc. According to Streitberg, lengthening in open syllables is restricted to accented short vowels. It is pointed out by Bloomfield⁴ that it is impossible to account for the continued

1. J.O.R.M., Volume XII, Part iii, pp. 278-87.

2. Cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* I, Section 61. Hirt, *Indogerm. Gr. II*, 65 f. n.

3. Whitney, *Skt. Gram.*, 236.

Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, 74. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, Section 26.

4. C. D. Buck, Some general problems of Ablaut. *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XVII, (1896), p. 272.

existence of IE**bhōro-s* (φόρο-ς) which is supposed to have changed to *bhōrs* (φώρ). Michels ("Metathesis in indogermanischen", *Indogermanische Forschungen*, IV 60 [1894]) also shows how variously accented forms might have been confused. A strict interpretation of Streitberg's law would not explain the Sanskrit *cāritum*, *bhāvitum*, etc. Doubtless the contracted form *ēx* developed from the uncontracted *éxə* and it is impossible to determine the exact conditions under which this development took place. It is plausible that the medium of sonorous sounds affected the lengthening, for instance, *éiə*, *éle* became *ēi*, *ēl* etc., but *étə*, *égə*, etc. remained and *eiə* and *ēt* are analogical formations.¹ Again with reference to the dissyllabic roots, C. D. Buck² points out that de Saussure was fully justified in assuming a specific relation between the long weak forms and the 'udātta' roots of the Sanskrit grammarians. The following parallelism is not due to chance.

bhūtá-s: *bhāvitum*; *pūtá-s*: *pāvitum*; *hūtá-s*: *hāvitum*; *cīrṇá-s*: *cāritum*; *khātá-s*: *khānitum*; *dāmtá-s*: *damitā*; *Kāṇtá-s*: *kamitā*. It must be remembered that *bhav* (iE* *bheu*) is not the unit of the strong form, but in its relation to the weak *bhū*. *bhavi* (iE* *bheuə*) gives us a dissyllabic root. It may be that the primitive Indo-European *ə* in * *bheuə* was a suffix. However, according to Streitberg's theory, *bheu-ə* would give only *bhēu*. Hence the monosyllabic *bhav* (iE* *bheū*) cannot be derived from *bhavi* (iE* *bheu-ə*). "We have rather side by side **bheu* and **bheu-ə*, the last being a unit in its relation to *bhū*."

The presence or absence of *i* before the verbal suffixes *-tu-* and *-tavya* and the noun suffix *-tav* in Sanskrit decides the question whether a root is dissyllabic or monosyllabic. But when we have forms with and without the *i* side by side, this is not a distinguishing criterion. Indian traditional grammar classes *nī* as *anudātta* in spite of *nāyitum* beside *nētum*. On the other hand *sah* is *udātta* in spite of *sōdhum* by the side of *sāhitum*.

1. C. D. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

2. *Ibid.*

Two roots α *stṛ* (*star*), present *stṛṇómi*, (*anudātta*), and a *stṛ*, present *stṛṇāmi*, (*udātta*) are usually set up in regard to *stárítum*, *stṛṇá* -by the side of *stártum stṛtá*.¹ In the matter of roots in final *r*, a generalisation of the dissyllabic form takes place. For instance, *kariṣyáti* to *kártum cariṣyáti* to *cáritum*. The dissyllabic form makes its appearance also in several roots in *-n* and *-m* while their infinitives show monosyllabic form. Examples are *hanīsyáti* to *hántum*, *gamīsyáti* to *gántum*. However, in the case of roots in *-r* in passive, a distinction is clearly discernible. *Kriyáte: kṛtá-*, *kártum*, but *kīryáte: kīrṇá-*; *striyáte: stṛtá-*, *stártum*, but *stīryáte: stīrṇá-stárítum*. But in the case of roots in *i* and *u*, there is no such distinction. *Śrūyáte: śrutá-*, *śrotum* and also *bhūyáte: bhūtá-bhavitum*. No doubt a generalisation of the dissyllabic form takes place in the case of desiderative of all roots in *-i*, *-u*, *-r*, *-m* and *-n*. In other words, we find either *-ayi*, *-asi* etc., or the weak *ī*, *īr*, etc. cf. *cikīṣā* -*śuśrūṣā*-, *didhīrṣā*, *jigāriṣā*-, etc.²

This generalisation of the dissyllabic form is solely responsible for the inflection of the *singular* of the *s-aorist* which manifests *vrddhi* uniformly. Doubtless, the *vrddhi* in *ārāutsam* is due to analogy.³ "But in roots ending in *i*, *u* and *r* the original types must have been: (1) dissyllabic formation *ánūṣam:** *ániṣī*, (2) monosyllabic *áneṣam:** *ániṣī*."⁴ Generalisation took place in the singular. We meet the short weak form (as for instance *ákṛṣi*) of roots in *r* in the plural but sometimes the long also as *ákṛṣata*. There is no trace of the monosyllabic type in *u*, *i*. Either there is *u* as in *ahūṣata*, or more commonly we meet with *e* or *o*, substituted for *ū*, *ī* [cf. Johansson, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 32, p. 509.] These dissyllabic root-forms are parallel to *ēi*, *ēu*, etc. in their relation to the low grade. Hence a schematic representation up to this point is⁵

1. Cf. Sigurd Agrell's *Intonation und Auslaut in Slavischen*. Archives D' Études Orientales. Published by J.A. Lundell. Volume VII, Upsal, 1913, p. 73. cf. also Kretschmer, *Indogermanische accent und lautstudien*. *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 31, 395.

2. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, Section 102d.

3. Cf. Streitberg, *Die Entstehung der Dehnstufe*. *Indogermanische Forschungen* III; p. 396 (1894).

4. Carl Darling Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 273. footnote.

5. Vide C.D. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

	Weak	Strong	
Short	<i>u</i>	<i>eu</i>	<i>ou</i>
Long	<i>ū</i>	<i>ēu</i>	<i>ōu</i> contracted.
		<i>eū</i>	<i>ou</i> uncontracted.

There are again forms with long final vowel as Sanskrit *prā*, Greek *πλη*, Latin *plē* etc. The question is whether in this type also, there is yet another contracted form of dissyllabic roots. Brugmann advanced the hypothesis that the suffixes *ē*, *ō* and *ā* were added to the weakest form of the root as in *pl -ē*.¹ But some scholars take the view that it was a phonetic development of the dissyllabic root-form parallel to that which resulted in the strengthened forms *ēu*, *ēi*, etc. Doubtless, weak forms are frequent and these alternate regularly with the long weak grade. Skt. *śūnā-s* by the side of *śvātrā-s*, *hūtā-s* by the side of Av. *zbītar*, *jīlā-s* by the side of *jyāsyati*, *jā-nā-ti* (but *jnā-tā-s*) by the side of *jnātum*, *stī-mā-* (but *styā-nā-s*) by the side of *styā-ya-te*. Mitchels² revived the theory of direct metathesis to explain the phonetic process which resulted in *iē-*, *plē*. It is undoubtedly possible to have *iē* from *ēi* and *iō* from *ōi*, but if we derive *iā* from *āi*, it would certainly belong to the *a*-series, which is not clearly the case -*iā* (Lat. *iānuā*), *ptā* (Greek *πτή-σομαι*), *trā* (Lat. *in -trā-re*), belong to roots of the *e*-series (*ei*, *pet*, *ter*, etc.).

Bechtel's theory³ is that *pelē* developed to *plē*, *bhesē* to *psē*. A strong evidence which supports this view is the existence of *rū* besides *eru* in *ρῦ τήρ: ἐρύω*.⁴ Similarly he seeks to explain *ptā* from *peta* (*Peto*) Greek *ῥομα*. Lat *nōmen*, Skt. *nāma* prove to us that a dissyllabic root with final *o* might appear as a monosyllabic form with final *ō*. Nevertheless *ō* is the result of direct ablaut to *ē* or *ā*, in the majority of the forms of the type *gnō* *γνωτός*, Lat. *nōtus*.)

1. cf. Kretschmer, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 31, 404.

2. Michels, Metathesis in Indogermanischen. *Indogermanische Forschungen* IV, 58 ff. 1894.

3. Bechtel, Hauptprobleme, 190 ff.

4. Cf. also, Frohde, zur Griechischen and lateinischen conjugation-Bezzenberger's *Beiträge* 9 (1885), p. 122.

"The strongest argument for Bechtel's theory is the fact that it accounts for the agreement between the monosyllabic and dissyllabic forms in the quality of their vowels, an agreement which is too marked to be attributed to chance."¹

Numerous instances of lengthening (Vrddhi) are met with in Sanskrit. *iE** *stā-*, Skt. *sthānam*, Lat. *stāre* (with the strong radical syllable in each case) whose etymological connection with *iE** *sta-*, is clear -Skt. *sthitās*, Greek. *στατός*, Lat. *status*, Gothic. *staEs* (all with the weak radical syllable). *iE** *dō-*, Skt. *dāsyati* (with the strong radical syllable) connected with *iE** *dōti-*, Lat. *datio* (with the radical syllable reduced through lack of accent. Vedic *maghātti-ṣ*, *bhāgattiṣ* show the vowel of the radical syllable entirely lost through further reduction in the third grade.² A convenient schematic representation at this stage would be as follows:—³

Grundstufe.	o-stufe.	Reduktions- stufe	Schwundstufe.
τίθημι, ἐθηκα lat. <i>fēcī</i>	νομός, sacer-dōs	faciō, Skr. <i>hitā-s</i>	Skr. I. pl. <i>da-d-hmās</i>
lat. <i>dās</i> lith. <i>dovanà</i>	<i>dōnum</i> , δίδομι, lith <i>duoti</i>	<i>datus</i>	Skr. I. pl. <i>da-d-mās</i> <i>dēvā-tta-s.</i>

ī and *ū* are the result of contraction of *i+ə* and *u+ə* as is evident from Sanskrit *īpsāmi* which is the desiderative of *āp* (= * *i-əp-so*) wherein *i* belongs to the reduplication and *ə* to the

1. de Saussure (Système primitif, 271), considered the Greek forms as weak, like Sanskrit *ir*, *-ā*, *-ām*. cf. C.D. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 275 and also p. 280 ff.

2. B. K. Ray, The Morphology of old English Noun and the verb, p. 20.

3. Holger Pedersen, Hittitisch und die Anderen Indo-Europäischen Sprachen=(Det kgl-Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser. XXV, 2.) Copenhagen, 1938, p. 280.,

root. "And the parallelism of *dhē*: *dhə* suggests that the weak form of *dhēi* was originally *dhəi*, then with contraction *dhī* (Skt. *dhī-lā-s.*"¹

The two sounds *i* and *u* should have been peculiar in their usage in the PIE tongue. They had both a syllabic and a consonantal value (Brugmann, *kurze gramm.* 148. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik.* i. 55). Every IE diphthong had either *i* or *u* as a component (Brugmann. *kurze gramm.* 134-147). These sounds were on a par with the nasals and liquids.² We meet two with either *guṇa* or *saṃprasāraṇa* diphthongs formed by *i* or *u* in PIE and these exhibit the strong grade, corresponding to the weak grade simple vowels. For instance, *ei* (Skr. *ē*) *eu* (Skr. *ō*), *er*, *el*, *em*, *en*, *je*, *we*, illustrate the strong grade in the *e*-series, while *i* and *u* mark the weak grade. The simple sounds are derived from the diphthongs. [Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik.* i. 55, Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar.* Section. 23 (2.) B. K. Ray, *Old English Morphology*, page 21.]

It is imperative also to recognize uncontracted weak forms *ai*, *iə* and *au*, *uə*. Kretschmer assumes such a form to explain the Greek nominative singular in *ia*=Skt. *ī* (*ἑφροῦσα*=Skt. *bhārantī*) and the neuter plural form *τρία*. A good number of roots show an ablaut *ēi*, *ai* and *ēu*: *au*.⁴

(To be continued.)

1. Cf. Kretschmer, *Indogermanische accent-und lautstudien Kuhn's Zeitschrift.* Vol. XXXI, p. 38 off. Bartholomae, *Arm a > griech o und die indogermanischen vokalreihen.* *Bezzenberger's beitrage* 17, p. 130, 1891, cf. C.D. Buch, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

2. Hirt, *Indogermanische Ablaut* 9. Ann. 1 cf. also Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* i. 57, Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, 22.

3. IE *i* and *u* must have been preserved by the side of the reduced vowels. Cf. H. Pedersen, *Das Prasens infix n* 1893, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 2, 323 note.

4. Cf. Per Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung* 117, and also Wood, 'Reduplicating verbs in Germanic' *Germanic Studies of the University of Chicago* II, 27ff. Brugmann, *Der präteritable Bildungstypus* ahd *hiaz*, aisl *hét* und ahd. *liof* aisl. *hliöp*. *Indogermanische Forschungen* VI, 1896, pp. 89ff, C. D. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PĀRTHIVENDRAVARMA

BY

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I learnt, a short time back, from Dr. N. Venkataramanayya of the Madras University that Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi knew of an inscribed slab of the Cōla period in Mint Street a few yards away from where the latter lived some years ago. I met Mr. Kavi and requested him to show it to me and he accompanied me every time I went to the place where it lay in Peddunaik Street, a lane in Mint Street, where it was thrown by a superstitious milkman from its original place in a small Amman temple there. The slab was soon secured for the Museum since as an inscription of the time of Pārthivendravarman it is of special interest to the student of South Indian History. I had contented myself with reading the name of the king and year before its acquisition and refrained from preparing estampages since that would have created a fuss and made the acquisition almost impossible. As it was turned on its back while it was removed I noticed there an unfinished figure of Jyeṣṭhā with late Pallava and transitional features.

Pārthivendravarman is considered a mysterious figure in South Indian History. His exact identity is not yet definitely established. Professor Nilakantha Sastri agrees with Mr. Krishna Sastri in identifying him with Āditya II. An inscription styles this king Ko Parakesari Vendrādivarma¹; sometimes he is called Pārthivendrādivarma²; there are other inscriptions where he is called Pārthivendrāhipativarma³. As Pārthivendra Ādityavarma a name which occurs in one of his inscriptions⁴, as Parakesari, and as Vīra-Pāṇḍyaṇ-talai-koṇḍāṇ⁵, by which title

1. S. I. I., Vol. III, Pt. iii, p. 356. The omission of Pārthi is in all probability an error of the scribe.

2. " " p. 373.

3. " " p. 365.

4. " " p. 333.

5. " " p. 333, 335.

also he is known, he is to be considered identical with Āditya II.¹ But the fact that his name is not found in the genealogy of the Cōlas makes some scholars pause and consider whether after all he may not have been a chief under the Cōla Kings. But the name Pārthivendra, if it were a title—possibly it is, considering the various modifications it has in different inscriptions of the king—need not necessarily be expected in the genealogical list where the name of the king, Āditya, has the proper place. Perhaps king Āditya even as a prince and viceroy was admired by his subjects as Pārthivendra, a superior type of ruler or Pārthivendrādhīpati, overlord of mighty kings, and, may be, his popular title was freely used in inscriptions. No two persons could have severed the single head of a Vīra-Pāṇḍya² and the title Parakesari taken together with the title Pārthivendra which is prefixed to Ādityavarma who is styled Vīra-Pāṇḍyantalaikonḍāṇ can establish the identity of the king. Again it is not as Pārthivendra that he is praised for securing the head of the Pāṇḍya. As one who accomplished that feat, he is called Pārthivendrādhīpati, a title distinctly mightier. But on this score we do not doubt that both titles are of an identical person. Similarly then, this growth of the title of Āditya cannot obscure his right to it. In the region near about Madras have been found some inscriptions of this king and this is a new find, but it offers no new clue to solve this problem.

The inscription is dated in the eighth year of the king Pārthivendra and records the gift of ninety sheep to the temple of Mahādeva of Tiruchurathur in Naṣadhīramangalam situated in Puliyūr-kōṭṭam. The gift is made by the madhyastha of the village named Candraśekhara for maintaining a perpetual light in the temple.

The inscription is in Tamil and is incised in Tamil and Grantha letters of the 10th century A. D. The inscription is in a fair state of preservation and the script is interesting from the point of view of palaeography. Noteworthy letters are e, ca, na, la, ru, vā and conjunct consonants with 'na' as the first letter.

1. Dr. Hultzsch identifies Parakesarivarman 'who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya' (No. 70 of 1900) with Āditya II. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 21.

2. The Koḍumbālūr chief Bhūti Vikramakesarī also claims to have vanquished Vīra-Pāṇḍya. Perhaps he helped Āditya.

E in eṭṭāvadu (l. 3) is almost a circular hoop and has no flattened elongated top. Ca wherever it occurs has a lengthened top line which curves into a hoop. It is equally curled even at the bottom in some cases as in cca in vacca (l. 8). Na with a



double arched longish central line is an altogether new type. La in viḷakku (l. 8) is curved up at its lower end. Ru in Tiruccurattūr (l. 5) has a double curve for *utva*. The line denoting *dirgha* for va in cāvā (l. 9) has a sharp angular projection at its bottom. Conjunct consonants beginning with na

show the peculiarity that na lends them. Though Grantha is used for Sanskrit terms, kha is not used for Candrasekhara. It is simply incised Candrasekara though the subtle differentiation between Grantha and Tamil ka is maintained as in the case of other letters. Similarly ta is not aspirated in madhyastha. The following is the text and translation as I have understood it from the estampages prepared after its acquisition.

Text.

Svasti Śrī
Ko Pārthivendravanmarkku yā-
ṇḍu eṭṭāvadu Puliyūr kōṭ-
ṭattu Curattūr nāṭṭu Nayadhī(ra)
maṅgalattu Tiruccurattūr
Mahā¹devarkku ivvūr madhya-
staṇ Candrasekaraṇ(va)
cca nandāvilakku ¹ kku c
cāvā mūvā perāḍu to-
ṇṇūru iddhammam rakṣi
ppā(ṇ śrī)² pādam entalai
mel³.....candrā
.....

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The eighth year of king Pārthivendra-
varma. Ninety undying and unaging big sheep given for
perpetual light endowed by Candrasekara, the madhyastha of
this village, for Lord Mahādeva of Tiruccurattūr⁴ in Nayadhīra-
maṅgalam⁵ situated in Curattūr-nāḍu⁵ of Puliyūr-kōṭṭam the
blessed feet of him who protects this meritorious foundation (are)
on my head. This is for as long as the sun and moon shall
last.

1. Should be ā.

2. Indistinct.

3. Indistinct. The last two lines should run melana/idu
Candrādittaval.

4. Pallāpuram (Pallavaram near Madras) is in Curattūr-
nāḍu S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 111, f.n. 3.

5. There is a Nayadhīramaṅgalam in Piḍavūr nāḍu (S. I. I.,
Vol. II, pp. 326, 338. The name appears to take after the biruda
or title of a king.

THE KĀLIKĀ (UPA)PURĀṆA

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

An attempt is made here to present the problems relating to the textual material of the Kālikopapurāṇa or simply the Kālikāpurāṇa (K. P.), as a preliminary to a summary of the contents of the K. P. On I, p. 98-b, Aufrecht's C. C. records some mss. of the K. P., but here the entry L. 370, as shown by Mitra's extracts and notes, is a ms. of a different text which is mentioned by Mitra as the Caṇḍīpurāṇa. From Eggeling's IO. catalogue, we know of still another text called Kālikāpurāṇa or Satīpurāṇa. On p. 22 of Pt. III of his C. C., Aufrecht notes this latter, different text. There are thus three texts, the first known as the Kālikāpurāṇa and represented by most of the mss. bearing that name, the second named the Caṇḍīpurāṇa represented by L. 370 and the third styled by the names Kālikāpurāṇa and Satīpurāṇa and represented by IO. 3344.

In print, we have the K. P., published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, in 1907. IO., Eggeling, p. 1191-a, notes a Bombay edition of this same text in 1891, and besides, these, there is a Bengali edition of 1910. These three books present the same text which is the first of the three texts noticed in the previous paragraph. There is of course a difference in the number of chapters. The Veṅk. edn. has 93 chs.; the Bengali edn. has 90 chs.; the Bombay edn. of 1891 has 93; IO. 3339 has 90; Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library, D. no. 2342 has only 90; No. 901 in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has also only 90 chs.; the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal ms. No. 10565, going up to ch. 91 of the text of the Veṅk. edn., must be a text of 93 chs. This slight difference of three chapters is due to difference in chaptering, one chapter being split into two sometimes, as Eggeling has pointed out. No ms. contains more than 93 chs., but Wilson says in his Introduction to his translation of the Viṣṇupurāṇa, that the ms. of the Kālikā he had, ran to 98 chs.

The earliest notice of the nature of the Kālikāpurāṇa (K.P.) is the translation of the chapter, (71, Venk. edn.), called Balidānavivaraṇa or the Rudhirādhyāya by W. C. Blaquiére in Asiatick Researches, Vol. V, 1807. Wilson then gave a brief indication of the contents of this K. P. in the Introduction to his translation of the Viṣṇupurāṇa, pp. lxxxvii—xc. The K. P. being cited frequently in Smṛti nibandhas after a certain time, has been noticed by Mr. P. V. Kane in his History of Dharmaśāstra, I. Other notices of the K. P. are all scrappy till we come to Mr. P. K. Gode's paper on the date of the Kālikāpurāṇa, published in Vol. X (pp. 289—294) of this Journal. In this paper, Mr. Gode pushed the later limit to the date of the K. P. to 1000 A. D. on the basis of a reference supplied by me (*ibid.*, p. 293). In a paper contributed to the Woolner Commemoration Volume, yet to be published, I have drawn attention to the indebtedness of the text of the K.P. to Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava as also to Māgha's Śīśupālavadha, which study, by the way, furnishes the earlier limit to the date of the K. P. as A. D. 700. This study was followed up by me with the preparation of a summary of the contents of the K. P. as available in the Venk. edn. This summary is published here.

The K. P. and Smṛti Nibandhas.

It has been pointed out that Dharma śāstra nibandhas after a certain time begin to quote the K. P. frequently. Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi quotes it a number of times, and earlier, Śrīdatta cites it twice in his Ācārādarsa. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar drew my attention to the many citations of the K. P. in the Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara, which Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar is editing. He also kindly allowed his press-copies of some of the kāṇḍas of the Kalpataru to be examined by me. Of the Nibandhas now known, the Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara is the earliest to utilize the K. P. Of the Kalpataru, I could not examine the Vrata, Gṛhastha, Naiyatakāla, Dāna and Pūjā kāṇḍas; evidently the many excerpts from the K. P. in Hemādri's Vratākhaṇḍa and Dānakhaṇḍa are based on Lakṣmīdhara's citations of the K. P. in his Vrata and Dāna kāṇḍas. The Pūjāprakāśa of the Vīramitrodaya (Chowk. edn.), p. 226ff. contains long quotations from the K. P. on Mahāsnāna, Gṛhādharma and Śivajāgara, which, again, are evidently based on Lakṣmīdhara's citations of those passages in his Pūjākāṇḍa.

Of the remaining kāṇḍas of the Kalpataru, Rājadharmā, Mokṣa, Pratiṣṭhā and Śrāddha do not cite the K. P. The six quotations in the Vyavahārakāṇḍa cannot be present in the K. P. of the Veṅk. edn., since that text does not contain any portion dealing with Vyavahāra. The Brahmacārikāṇḍa quotes two verses of the K. P. on Iṣṭāpūrta, reproduced in the Vīramitrodaya also. The Śāntikāṇḍa contains a long quotation from the K. P. on Rudrajapavidhi in which the interlocutors figuring are Sanaka, Sanatkumāra and Kāvya-kūṭa(?). There is a single citation in the Śuddhikāṇḍa which is the same as the first passage cited in the Ācārādarśa (p. 17-a, Veṅk. edn. Śaka. 1826), and which is also cited in the Aparārka, p. 924 (Ānandāśrama edn.). The Tīrtha kāṇḍa has a citation from the K. P. bearing on Bhṛgupatana at a certain holy spot.

None of these citations can be traced to the text of the K. P. available to us in print. The text of the K. P. presupposed by these extracts must be a very much more extensive one, dealing at greater length with Dharma. The sages Sanaka and Sanatkumāra figuring in the extract in the Śāntikāṇḍa of the Kalpataru are absent in the available K. P. In the citations in Hemādri's Vratākhaṇḍa, the interlocutors are sages Tṛṇabindu and Anilāda, both absent in the available K. P.

The second citation in the Ācārādarśa (p. 50-a); the two quotations in the Madanapārijāta (Bib. Ind.), pp. 90 and 228 on the time (caturdaśī) unsuited for Vedic study and on Vaiśyavṛtti; Aparārka, p. 15, K. P. on enslaving others by applying a collyrium to one's eyes, p. 226, K. P. on the sin of entering temples with shoes, and p. 377, K. P. on Naiveśikadāna (found also is Dāna Hemādri); Anantadeva, Rājadharmā Kaustubha (GOS.), p. 408 on Divyamātrkā; Vīramitrodaya, Rājanīti, p. 30, K. P. praising the king and p. 225, K. P. on Dattaputras; quotations in Hemādri, Pariśeṣakhaṇḍa—these are not traceable in the available K. P. But we are not able to decide from this fact that the K. P. available to us is altogether different; for, some of the Smṛti-compilers' citations are to be found in our K. P., though these belong to works of later writers. Vīramitrodaya, Sarinskāra, p. 212, K. P. on the necessity of Putra is found in our text of the K. P., at the end of the story of Vetāla and Bhairava. The Śuddhikaumudī and the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī of Govindānanda (Bib. Ind.) cites texts from the K. P. found in the Veṅk.

edn. Śuddhi, p. 246, on Durgotsava, p. 313, on the several kinds of damaged cloth unfit for offering; Śrāddha, p. 145 on Dīpas and p. 13 on the two kinds of Vārdhīṇasa are to be found in the Veñk. edn. (ch. 62; ch. 73, śls. 2-3; ch. 73; ch. 71, śls. 16-17). But the Śuddhikaumudī's long citation from the K. P. on days and acts of pollution debarring worship of Devī, and two citations in the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī, pp. 105 and 356, on pollution and spots unfit for rites are not found in the Veñk. edn. The quotations on pp. 35, 63, 86, 88 and 99 of Nanda-panḍita's Navarātrapradīpa (Princess of Wales Sar. Bha. Texts, 23) are found in the Veñk. edn. of the K. P.

Attention has been drawn by Mr. Kane¹ to the fact that some of the Smṛti-nibandhakāras like Anantadeva and Nīlakaṇṭha² themselves noted the circumstance, *viz.*, the absence of the texts on adoption said to be from K. P. from the majority of the K. P. mss. Did we have, therefore, a longer text of the K. P.?

It was noted that in the passage from the K. P. cited by Lakṣmīdhara in his Śāntikāṇḍa, Sanatkumāra figures as an interlocutor. This characteristic pertains to the Caṇḍipurāṇa described under L. 370. It was pointed out that citations in Vrata Hemādri show sages Anilāda and Tṛṇabindu as interlocutors and this characteristic pertains to the Kālikā or Satīpurāṇa under IO. 3344. IO. 3344 is evidently incomplete and so we are not able to verify if the topics on which K. P. is quoted by Lakṣmīdhara and others, are dealt with in it. Is it probable that when these Nibandhakāras refer to K. P., they mean all these three texts?

In Ch. 20, śls. 42-43 and 51-52 of the K. P., Veñk. edn., two texts are cited, the first from the *Nītiśūtra* given by *Brahmā* to his son and the second from *Dakṣa's Dharmaśāstra* given to *Nārada*. The latter, I tried to trace in Smṛtis ascribed to Dakṣa and Nārada and did not succeed.

The K. P. and Nānyadeva's Bharata Bhāṣya.

Lakṣmīdhara wrote under Govindacandra of Kanoj, 1104—1155 A. D. Nānyadeva who cites the K. P. in his Bharata

1. Hist. Dha. Śās. I, p. 448.

2. Vya. Mayūkha, Kane's edn., p. 114. For other Smṛti-nibandhas citing the K. P., see Kane. Hist. Dha. Śās. I and Kane, Vyavahāra-mayūkha.

Bhāṣya ruled between 1097 and 1133 A. D. and was thus slightly earlier. The reference to the K. P. in Nānya's work occurs on p. 132-a of the BORI. Ms., and on p. 298 of its Madras transcript (Madras Govt. Ori. Lib. R. 5598).

“इति गो(रो)विन्दकं समाप्तम् । कालिकाख्यपुराणे यत् पुराणे (ण)पुरुषेरितम् । रोविन्दकामिधं गीतं (प्रोक्तं) नान्यमहीमुजा ॥”

To what text does this refer? The Venk. edn. of the 'K. P. does not deal with or contain the Gīta called Rovindaka. Could this Gīta be in a longer text of the K. P. or in the Caṇḍīpurāṇa (L. 370) or the Satīpurāṇa (IO. 3344)? When I examined the text of the Bharata Bhāṣya itself, I found that on p. 296 (Madras transcript), Nānya begins the description of the Rovindaka and on p. 295, he illustrates it by a music composition beginning

‘शण्डं शण्डं जगपति शण्डं * * सोमयज्ञायज्ञपरिष्ठिततनुं हविर्हव्यहोम etc.’

This song with its musical treatment goes up to p. 298, at the end of which, Nānya says that the above song belongs to the Kālikā-purāṇa. *But when he begins the song on p. 295, he gives the source as the Bhagavatīpurāṇa.*

“उदाहरणं यथा भगवतीपुराणे—शण्डं शण्डं etc.”

What is this Bhagavatīpurāṇa and is it the same as our K. P. in a larger version, or is it IO. 3344 or L. 370, or a text different from all these?

Some of the minor noteworthy subjects of the K. P.

A summary of the contents of the K. P. as available in the Venk. edn. was prepared because of the interest of the text as a Tāntrik authority for Śāktas, and because of the numerous other topics of interest which a purāṇic compilation would abound in. It is possible to mention here only some of these other topics of interest: Birth of Kāma in ch. I. Birth of the 49 Bhāvas, the Hāvas and the 64 arts from Brahmā and Sandhyā in ch. 2. Birth of Agniṣvāttāḥ, Barhiṣadaḥ and others of this group in ch. 2. Birth of Rati in ch. 2. Birth of Spring (Vasanta) from Brahmā's sigh in ch. 3. Birth of 'Māras', the forces of Kāma, in ch. 6. The Nāṭakeśvara or Nāṭakaśaila, a part of the Himālayas where Śiva's dances take place, ch. 7, śl. 14 and ch. 53.

12 Vratas which Satī observes to propitiate Śiva in ch. 9, which, somehow, are not noted by the Smṛti nibandhakāras. Story of how the deluge-clouds were born in ch. 11. The Vijayā whom we meet in Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava as a companion of Pārvatī is Satī's own sister's daughter—ch. 16. Origin of the river in the hades, the Vaitaraṇī in ch. 18. Story of how some stars became malevolent in ch. 20. 1008 sacrifices and the account of which sacrifice rose from which part of the Yajñavarāha's body in ch. 32. Description of the Kapāla Bhairava sect in ch. 36. The birth of Pārvatī was on Vasanta Navamī, at midnight—ch. 42. Her marriage with Śiva was on Vaiśākha Śukla pañcamī, Guruvāra—ch. 46. Dance, music and enjoyments during Durgā mahotsava in chs. 62 and 63. The Śābara utsava which marks the Vijayadaśamī day—chs. 62 and 63. Obscene sexual talks and pranks indulged in the Visarjana-celebration of the Durgā mahotsava, ch. 63. A story of the origins of mountains in ch. 64. Ch. 72, several kinds of wood and wooden seats; clothing in different materials. Ch. 73, kinds of clothing-material and varieties of stitched and unstitched clothing. Ch. 73, śls. 16 ff. 40 kinds of ornaments. Ch. 73, śls. 37 ff. Gandha- 5 kinds of perfume. Ch. 73, śls. 40 ff. kinds of incense. Chs. 87-91, sage Aurva's discourse to king Sagara on Rājanīti and Rājadharmā. Ch. 90, same discourse, the festival of India's banner. A strange story of the origin of cattle in Ch. 93.

It is neither necessary nor possible to indicate even briefly here, in this introduction, the particulars of the rich Śākta-material lying in the K. P. which can be known from the summary. The K. P. is a purāṇa of East Bengal and Assam, the only other place on the greatness of which the K. P. expatiates being the region of the Tandrābhāgā river (in the Puñjāb). The bigger stories in digression are: Arundhatī-Vasiṣṭha, Chs. 19-23. Candra's life, marriage with the stars, getting Rājayakṣmā etc., Chs. 20-22. Varāha-avatāra story, Chs. 25-32; Kūrma-avatāra, Chs. 28 and 35; Matsya-avatāra, Chs. 33-34. Story of Narakāsura with the sub-story of Bāṇāsura, Chs. 37-41.

The K. P. contains some good prayers to Yogamāyā or Kālī, Śiva and Viṣṇu. The following are on Yogamāyā or Devī:

Ch. 5, śls. 15-50, 55-63;

„ 8, „ 12-27.

Ch. 24, śls. 9-27.

„ 28, „ 32-40.

„ 42, „ 19-28.

„ 80, „ 96-103 (in an irregular metre).

Prayers to Śiva: Ch. 18, Śls. 56-68; Ch. 46, Śls. 14-18;
Ch. 47, Śls. 86-100.

Prayers to Viṣṇu: Ch. 22, Śls. 52-70; Ch. 31, Śls. 4-17.

The Literature known to the K. P.

As mentioned previously, I have drawn attention elsewhere to the fact that the K. P. has utilised Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava and Māgha's Śiśupālavadha. In the discourse of sage Aurva to king Sagara on Rājanīti and Rājadharmā, the K. P. expressly mentions the works of Śukra and Brhaspati on Rājanīti, at the end of Ch. 87, and bases its account of the Indradhvaja festival and the Viṣṇu-iṣṭi to be conducted by the king on the Viṣṇu-dharmottara which it twice mentions in Chs. 91 (Śl. 70) and 92 (Śl. 2), as containing the sage's own previous discourses on these subjects.

Besides these texts, the K. P. must have known a Nītiśāstra ascribed to Brahman and a Dharmasāstra ascribed to Dakṣa or Nārada, as has already been pointed out above.

The other works known to the K. P. refer to the Tāntrik branch, and are mentioned in the portion dealing with Devī-worship beginning with Ch. 54.

(i) The *Śivāmṛta*: In Ch. 54, Śls. 4-5 (quoted in the summary below), the K. P. refers to a work on Mahāmāyā-worship called *Śivāmṛta*, in 18 Paṭalas, compiled by Bhairava from the teachings he received from Śiva.

(ii) The *Vaiṣṇavatāntra*, *Durgātāntra*, *Tripurātāntra*, and *Uttarātāntra*. These expressions occur in this section on Devī-worship; the first name occurs frequently. Are these names of works or only names of different techniques of worship? The *Uttarātāntra* at least sounds like a work-name.

Whole chapters from Bhairava's work seem to have been incorporated into the K. P. For, though according to the Purāṇa's story, Śiva must address both Bhairava and Vetāla, Bhairava alone is addressed in the verses in these sections. Further, one of the chapter-colophons of the K. P. is a colophon in part of the original:

Ch: 54: इति श्रीकालिकापुराणे महामायाकल्पे अष्टादशपटले चतुः-
पञ्चाशत्तमोऽध्यायः ।

References to a Bhairavatantra are many, but I am not able to fix the text which the K. P. has used here.

A SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE KĀLIKĀPURĀṆA¹.

Ch. 1. Śl. 1. Obeisance to Hari (Vasantatilakā); Śl. 2. do to Māyā (Vasantatilakā); Śl. 3. do to Ādya Puruṣa (Anuṣṭubhs from this). Kamaṭha and other sages ask Mārkaṇḍeya to relate to them how Kālī, of yore, captivated the heart of Śiva who had become a Yogin; how Satī was born of Dakṣa, how She abandoned her body as Satī and incarnated Herself as the daughter of Himavān, and finally claimed half of the body of Śiva.

Mārkaṇḍeya begins the narration: He says that the story of these incidents was of yore handed down from Brahmā to Nārada, from Nārada to the Vālakhilyas, from them to sage Yavakrīta, from him to Asita and from Asita to himself, Mārkaṇḍeya.

Mārkaṇḍeya's obeisance to Hari; description of Hari, the prime Puruṣa whom Brahmā propitiated and with whose grace, Brahmā created the beings, through Dakṣa and other Prajāpatīs. Brahmā created also the sages, his mind-born sons, ten in number: Marīci, Atri, Pulaha, Aṅgīrasa, Kratu, Pulastya, Vasiṣṭha, Nārada, Pracetas, Bhṛgu. The eleventh He created from His mind was Sandhyā, the evening Sandhyā, referred to as Jayantikā (सायंसन्ध्या जयन्तिका). Description of her beauty.

Then Brahmā wondered what He could do with her. Next moment another beautiful person, this time a male, issued out of Brahmā's mind. This was Kāma. Description of his beauty. Brahmā assigned him the duty of making all living beings, including the lesser and the greater gods like Himself, slaves of his flowery shafts of love.

Ends Ch. 1 called the birth of Kāma.

Ch. 2. The sages and the Prajāpatīs give Love the names of Manmatha, Kāma, Madana, Darpaka, Kandarpa and give his arrows power over everything and everybody.

They give the first-born woman also the name Sandhyā.

After thinking for a while, Kāma tries his arrows on Dakṣa and Sandhyā. He draws his bow, standing in Ālīḍha pose and throws the hearts of everybody there, upto Brahmā, into the thralldom of love towards Sandhyā.

When Brahmā is giving expression to his love, there arise out of Him, the 49 Bhāvas, Bibboka and other Hāvas; and the 64 arts now arise out of Sandhyā who is also under the influence of Kāma. Brahmā and others begin to pay definite attention to Sandhyā. All this, Śiva sees from above and laughs aloud. Śiva deprecates Brahmā and the sages and the Prajāpatis for succumbing to love, and that towards a daughter (in the case of Brahmā) and a sister (in the case of others). He reviles Kāma also who was given power only some minutes back and who had used it against the wrong persons. Ashamed on hearing Śiva speak thus, Brahmā controls Himself. Brahmā perspires now profusely and out of the perspiration rise Agniṣvāttas, Barhiṣads and the Pitr̥gaṇas, dark in colour and with lotus-like eyes, permanent Yatis averse to Saṁsāra. Agniṣvāttas 64,000, Barhiṣads 86,000.

Of the perspiration that fell down from Dakṣa's limbs, a damsel is born. Marīci and six others control themselves; but of the perspiration of the rest, Pitr̥gaṇas, Somapas, Ājyapas, Svakālins, Havirbhuks, and Kayvavāhas are born. Somapas are born of Kratu; Svakālins of Vasiṣṭha; Ājyapas of Pulastya; Haviṣmats of Aṅgiras.

Thus, in a way, the Pitr̥s become sons of Sandhyā.

In the shame caused by Śiva's words, Brahmā becomes angry towards Manmatha, though Manmatha has already withdrawn his arrows in his fear of Brahmā and Śiva.

Here ends Ch. 2.

Ch. 3. Brahmā curses Manmatha: "Since you made me ridiculous before the eyes of Śiva, you shall perish in the fire of Śiva's third eye, by similarly trying your valour on Him." On Kāma's entreaty, Brahmā tells Manmatha, that out of his own ashes, he will rise again by the grace of the same Śiva, when Śiva marries. Brahmā and Śiva disappear.

The excellent damsel born of Dakṣa's perspiration is Rati whom Dakṣa gives in marriage to Kāma. Description of Rati.¹ Kāma thinks that with her aid, he could infatuate even Śiva.

1. Metrically and rhetorically, there is in general a poet's finish in all the passages of this Upapurāṇa.

Ch. 3 ends with a Mālinī verse.

Ch. 4. Ever since Śiva pulled Him up, Brahmā was feeling the humiliation and was thinking of a way to make the Yogin Śiva succumb to the charms of a woman. He asks Kāma to follow Śiva wherever He goes and enslave Him by bonds of love. But Kāma asks Brahmā to point out the woman on whom he could make Śiva dote. Brahmā sinks into thought and sighs. Out of His sigh arises the spring (Vasanta R̥tu). Description of Vasanta. Brahmā gives Vasanta to Kāma as his constant companion and help. Brahmā blesses also that Śṛṅgāra and its Bhāvas, Bimboka and other Hāvas and the 64 arts shall aid Kāma and Rati (Śls. 36-37). Then Brahmā sends Kāma, Rati and Vasanta after Śiva and confers with Dakṣa to create a woman.

Ch. 4 ends here.

Ch. 5. Brahmā says that only Viṣṇumāyā is powerful enough to attract Śiva, that he would pray to Her and that Dakṣa should propitiate Her and request Her to become Dakṣa's daughter and Śiva's wife. Dakṣa agrees; Marīci and others approve of this. Dakṣa begins penance on the coast of the milk-ocean to see Mahāmāyā. Brahmā prays to Her from Mandaragiri. The prayer, Śls. 15-50. She manifests Herself to Brahmā, swarthy, beautiful, four-armed, mounted on a lion, with sword and lily in her hands and with untied locks of hair. Again Brahmā sings Her praise, Śls. 55-60. Brahmā tells Her the purpose of His penance and requests Her to incarnate Herself as some woman to captivate the heart of Śiva who is a Yogin and is averse to the path of Sṛṣṭi. The continuation of Sṛṣṭi is given as one of the motives by Brahmā. Ch. 5 ends here.

Ch. 6. The Goddess promises to be born as Dakṣa's daughter to entrance Śiva and disappears. Brahmā meets Kāma on the way and informs him how he has made Māyā consent to be born as a woman to captivate Śiva. On Manmatha's query, Brahmā is about to expatiate on the greatness of Mahāmāyā. But before He begins to do that, he sighs frequently. Out of his sighs arise armies of animals, animal-like beings and warriors with missiles. They shout "kill, kill." Brahmā hence gives them the name 'Māra' and gives them to Manmatha as his forces.

Then Brahmā begins the Māhātmya of Yogamāyā. Śls. 61-74. Ch. 6 ends here.

Ch. 7. Brahmā continues his talk with Manmatha: 'Soon Yogamāyā will be born as Dakṣa's daughter. You continue your work by following Śiva wherever He goes.' Kāma now relates what Śiva does and what he (Kāma) had done with Him up to that time. Kāma had been using all his shafts and all his power. Among the mountains to which Śiva goes like Meru and Kailāsa, Manmatha mentions one named Nātakeśvara (Sl. 14.) Manmatha says that he made the birds and animals in the places where Śiva stayed become amorous, and Madhu (Spring) made even trees and creepers feel love. None of these could disturb Śiva. Kāma adds that, with Dakṣa's daughter and the newly created army, he could attempt again.

Ch. 7 ends here.

Ch. 8. Kāma goes to Śiva's place. Dakṣa in penance sees Māyā or Kālī. Dakṣa's stotra on Kālī, Śls. 12-27. She promises to become his daughter to captivate Śiva's heart. She adds that the moment Dakṣa slights Her, She would leave the body.

Dakṣa begets a number of sons, who, by Nārada's Upadeśa, become Viraktas. Dakṣa then marries Vīraṇī, daughter of Vīraṇa; she is otherwise called Asiknī also. Of the *Saṅkalpa* of the two is born Satī. A stotra on Māyā.

Even as a child, Satī shows Her love for Śiva; draws His picture and sings His praise. Nārada one day visits Satī and Dakṣa, and blesses Satī that she would marry Śiva.

Ch. 8 ends here.

Ch. 9. Satī attains youth and worships Śiva. The worships of Śiva:—

(i) In Āśvina, on the day called Nandaka, with Lavaṇāṇna and Guḍāṇna.

(ii) In Kārtika, caturdaśī, with Apūpa and Pāyasa.

(iii) In Mārgaśīrṣa, kṛṣṇāṣṭamī with Yavodana.

(iv) In Pauṣa, kṛṣṇa saptamī with Kṛsarāṇna in the early morning after waking through the whole night.

(v) In Māgha, paurṇamāsī, similar waking up during the night and worship of Śiva on the river-bank, after bath and in wet clothes.

(vi) In Phālguna, kṛṣṇapakṣa caturdaśī—Jāgarāṇa—Bilvārcana.

(vii) In Caitra, śukla caturdaśī, worship during day and night with Palāśa flowers.

(viii) In Vaiśākha, śukla tṛtīyā, sustaining herself the whole month only on milk, worships Śiva with Yavodana.

(ix) In Jyēṣṭha, śukla pūrṇimārātri—fast and worship with offer of clothes and Bṛhatī flowers.

(x) In Āṣāḍha, śukla caturdaśī, worship with Bṛhatī flowers.

(xi) In Śrāvaṇa, kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī and caturdaśī—worship with offer of pure yajñopavīta and clothes.

(xii) In Bhādrapada, trayodaśī and caturdaśī—fast and worship, with fruit-food on the latter day.

When Satī finishes this round of Vratas of Śiva for a year, Brahmā and Viṣṇu go to Śiva with their consorts. Brahmā explains the purpose of their visit; Brahmā persuades Śiva to marry. Śiva asks if there is a woman suitable to His yogic nature. Brahmā mentions Satī, daughter of Dakṣa. Hari joins Brahmā in the plea. Śiva consents and the two leave Him. Kāma overhears this conversation and is glad.

Ch. 9 ends here.

Ch. 10. Satī performed once again the Nandā vrata in Āśvina śukla aṣṭamī, fasting and worshipping Śiva. At the end of the Vrata, Śiva appears before Her. Manmatha now makes the two infatuated mutually, with his arrows Harṣaṇa and Mohana. Śiva grants Satī's request to become His wife. Satī wants Śiva to arrange the marriage through Her father Dakṣa and goes away to Her mother. Śiva returns to His place, calls forth Brahmā and entrusts Him with the further work of arranging the marriage. Brahmā meets Dakṣa and arranges the marriage. Nārada and other sages arrive.

Ch. 10 ends here.

Ch. 11. Śiva, Brahmā, Nārada and other sages and gods arrive in Dakṣa's house for Śiva's marriage. The marriage takes place. Viṣṇu also arrives then. Brahmā sees Satī and becomes stricken with love; His Tejas falls on the ground and from this Tejas of Brahmā are born the thundering clouds, Samvarta, Āvarta, Puṣkara and Droṇa. Śiva who sees Brahmā's misbehaviour, becomes angry, and rushes at Him with the trident to kill Brahmā. The sages and Dakṣa try to pacify Śiva; Viṣṇu interferes and points out that Śiva, Himself and Brahmā are identical and hence, Śiva should not kill Brahmā. Viṣṇu's expatiation on

the ultimate oneness of the three deities. Śiva desists from killing Brahmā.

Ch. 11 ends here.

Ch. 12—Ch. 13. The elaboration of this oneness of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā. Description of creation; the manifestation of the trinity, their exploits etc. At the end, repetition of the oneness of the three and a plea to Śiva to excuse Brahmā; and Śiva excuses.

Ch. 14. Śiva returns to Himavatprastha with Satī; sends away the gods; then asks His gaṇas to retire and present themselves whenever Śiva thinks of them. The gaṇas retire to Mahākośīrapāta. Śiva and Satī live in happiness. From there, the two go to the Mahākośīrapāta and spend the time happily. Spring manifests itself and Kāma arrives there. A fine description of the Spring. Śiva thus spends 24 years.

Ch. 14 ends here with a Mālinī.

Ch. 15. The rains; a fine description of the rainy season by Satī. Desire to live in a rainless region. Śiva suggests Meru or Kailāsa, places above the clouds. Descriptions of Meru and Kailāsa. Satī prefers Kailāsa. There are some Upajātis and one Vasantatilaka in this chapter.

Ch. 15 ends here.

Ch. 16. In Kailāsa, Śiva sported with Satī 10,000 years according to gods' calculation. The two moved from place to place, one peak to another in the Himālayas, Meru, the gardens of Indra, Agni etc. and Earth.

Dakṣa now conducts a large sacrifice to which he invites everybody except Śiva and Satī. Description of Dakṣa's Yajña. Some Upajātis. Satī is enraged at the wanton insult offered by Her father and, remembering Her previous word to Dakṣa that she would cease to be his daughter when he insults Her, She gives up Her life as Satī by yoga (Prāṇa sphoṭa). Before giving up Her life, she decides to be born as the daughter of Menā and Himavān, to marry Śiva again.

Satī's sister's daughter, Vijayā, weeps over Satī's body.

Ch. 16, called Satī dehatyāga, ends here.

Ch. 17. Śiva returns after Sandhyā-worship in Mānasa lake and learns the circumstances under which Satī gave up Her life. Enraged, Śiva rushes to where Dakṣa performs his sacrifice; Śiva sends Virabhadra with some Gaṇas to destroy the sacrifice.

Seeing Viṣṇu preventing Vīrabhadra, Śiva Himself enters. He plucks the eyes of Bhaga and shatters the teeth of Sun. Sacrifice (yajña) now takes a deer-form and escapes into Brahmā's world; Śiva pursues it; it runs and enters the corpse of Satī. On approaching Satī's corpse, Śiva forgets yajña and begins to weep over Satī's body. Last verse in Mālinī.

Ch. 17 ends here.

Ch. 18. When Śiva is weeping over Satī's body, Kāma, coming there with Rati, shoots Him with his shafts and makes Śiva mad and rave out 'Satī, Satī'. Tears pour down from Śiva's eyes in floods, and fearing that earth would burst, the gods, Brahmā and others pray to Śanaīścara. A prayer on Śanaīścara, Śls. 13-16. Śanaīścara once stopped the clouds from pouring down and so is now asked to hold up Śiva's tears. To prevent Śiva from burning down Śanaīścara, the gods throw a Māyā over Śiva. Śanaīścara holds Śiva's tears for a time and then deposits them in the mountain called Jaladhāraka. But the Jaladhāraka splits and the river of Śiva's tears flow down to the sea from where it reaches finally Yama's place and runs there as the Vaitaraṇī.

Śiva, unable to bear His sorrow, lifts up Satī's body on His shoulders and goes to the eastern provinces. Seeing Śiva walking like this in madness, the gods who want Him to be relieved of Satī's corpse, enter Satī's body through Māyā, render it into pieces and make the pieces fall at certain parts of the country, for the welfare of the world.

At	Devikūṭa		fell the feet;
„	Uḍḍiyāna	„ „	thighs;
„	Kāmarūpa, on	} „ „	yoni;
„	Kāmagiri		
„	the same place	} „ „	navel;
„	towards the east		
„	Jālandhara	„ „	breasts;
„	Pūrṇagiri beyond	} „ „	shoulders and neck.
„	Kāmarūpa		

The country traversed by Śiva bearing Satī's corpse becomes Yājñikadeśa. Further bits of Satī's body are blown by wind to the heavenly Ganges. At each place where a part of Satī's body falls, Śiva establishes Himself in Liṅga-form. And at all these places, Brahmā and others worship Satī.

The Goddess at Devikūṭa is called Mahābhāgā.

„	Uḍḍiyāna	„	Kātyāyanī.
„	Kāmarūpa	„	Kāmākhyā.
„	Pūrṇagiri	„	Pūrṇeśvarī.
„	Jālandhara	„	Caṇḍī.
„	the eastern border of Kāmarūpa	„	Dikkaravāsini and Lalitakāntā.

At the place where Satī's head falls, Śiva sits down to weep; the gods approach to console Him but, ashamed to be seen by them in that state, Śiva transforms Himself at that very place into a stone Liṅga. Brahmā and others extol that Śiva-liṅga. A Śiva stotra, verses 56-68. On hearing this stotra, Śiva rises out of the Liṅga, but still in sorrow. Brahmā again extols Him (longer metres are employed here) and requests Him to overcome the sorrow for the sake of the world which will not stand Śiva's grief. Brahmā consoles Śiva that Satī will be born again after a 100 divine years, at the beginning of the Tretāyuga, to marry Śiva again. Śiva asks Brahmā to keep Him company till He is able to be free of His grief fully. Both Śiva and Brahmā go to Kailāsa. From there, with other gods joining them, they go to another part of the Himālayas, Oṣadhiprastha, the capital of Himavān, where the latter receives them. Unfortunately Śiva meets Vijayā there, and Vijayā begins to weep for Satī's death.

Ch. 18 ends here.

Ch. 19. Śiva's grief is aroused, but Brahmā again points out to Śiva the impropriety of His grief. (Longer metres here.) From Himavān's capital, Brahmā takes Śiva to the solitude of the lake Śiprā in the east, from which arises river Śiprā falling into the ocean in the South. A fine description of Śiprā, reminding one of the description of Pampā, in Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa.

A digression here on lake Śiprā and the river Śiprā. The waters which the gods sprinkled on the couple when Vasiṣṭha married Arundhatī collected into the Śiprā lake, the god's favourite bath, and when the waters became too much, Viṣṇu let them out as the Śiprā river, holy like the Ganges. Bathing during the whole of Kārttika in it is very meritorious. A bath in it on Kārtika paurṇamāsī is of untold merit.

A second digression into how Vasiṣṭha married Arundhatī. It is Brahmā's mind-born daughter Sandhyā who became

Arundhatī and chose Vasiṣṭha as her husband. When tempted by Kāma, Brahmā forgot that she was his own daughter, and her brothers, the sages also forgot that she was their sister, Sandhyā felt greatly ashamed and desired to give up that body. She wanted to expiate her own sin, for she too felt the evil effect of Kāma's shaft; she desired to do penance so that none in future fell prey to love soon after birth. She repaired to the Candrabhāga hill for doing this penance.

Here ends Ch. 19.

Ch. 20. Brahmā now asked his son Vasiṣṭha to meet Sandhyā and dissuade her from the penance. Vasiṣṭha proceeds to Candrabhāga as a Brahmācārīn. He saw there a lake called Bṛhallohita and Sandhyā in penance on its bank. From that lake and mountain flowed westwards river Candrabhāgā towards the sea in the South.

A digression into how the river Candrabhāgā began to flow, (śl. 17 ff.) how the lake Bṛhallohita was formed and why the hill came to be called Candrabhāga. Since Pitāmaha apportioned (Bhāga) Candra as food for Devas and Pitṛs on that hill, the hill took the name Candrabhāga. The story of this is then set forth in detail.

Dakṣa gave his daughters, the 27 stars, Aśvinī etc., as wives to Candra, but Candra spent his time only with one of them, Rohiṇī. At this, the other 26 star-wives grew angry and accused Candra of the sin of abandoning legally wedded wives. The 26 stars point out that for the sake of the happiness of many, one, *viz.*, Rohiṇī, could be killed, and that there was the authority of Brahmā for it.

यस्मिन्नर्थे पुरा ब्रह्मा व्याजहार सुतं प्रति ।

नीतिशास्त्रोपदेशाय तन्नः संश्रुतमस्ति वै ॥

एकस्य यत्र निधने प्रवृत्ते दुष्टकारिणः ।

बहूनां भवति क्षेमं तस्य पुण्यप्रदो वधः ॥ 42-43.

But Candra saved Rohiṇī from the 26 sisters. The stars accused Candra of sinful neglect of virtuous wives with a Smṛti-text, given by Dakṣa to Nārada:—

गदतो यच्छ्रुतं पूर्वं नारदाय पितुर्मुखात् ।

दक्षस्य धर्मशास्त्रार्थं तच्छृणुष्व निशापते ॥

बहुदारः पुमान् यस्तु रागादेकां भजेत् स्त्रियम् ।

स पापभाक् स्त्रीजितश्च तस्य (स्या ?) शौचं सनातनम् ॥ 51-52.

and so on. The authority cited goes up to verse 61. On hearing this harsh outspoken criticism, Candra cursed Kṛttikā and the two next stars to become malevolent and Kṛttikā and the other eight Uttaraphalgunī, Bharanī, Ārdrā, Maghā, Viśākhā, Uttarabhādrapada, Jyēsthā and Uttarāṣādhā as unsuited stars for starting on a journey, yātrā. The 26 stars then reported the matter to their father Dakṣa. Dakṣa thrice warned Candra of the sin of neglecting his other wives, and when he found Candra still resorting only to Rohiṇī, Dakṣa grew enraged. Out of Dakṣa's nostrils issued forth the malady called Yakṣmā which Dakṣa directed towards Candra so that Candra might be eaten up day by day. This disease is called Rājayakṣmā since its first victim was Rājā, moon. Kṣaya caught the moon; and when the moon began waning, herbs began failing and consequently sacrifices were hindered. Starvation seized the gods when sacrifices stopped. Rains failed as a result of this and famine descended on earth. In the famine, Dharma began to disappear and evil increased. Unable to understand this cosmic disturbance, the gods sought Brahmā who informed them of how and why Dakṣa cursed Candra.

Here ends Ch. 20.

Ch. 21. On Brahmā's advice, the gods sought and prayed to Dakṣa who said that if Candra would become impartial to all his wives, Candra could wax half a month, though waning for the rest of the days. The gods carried this message to Brahmā. Brahmā with all the gods including Candra went to Candrabhāga hill and did ablution in lake Bṛhallohita. The lake possessed medicinal water and Candra was freed from Yakṣmā after a bath in it. Brahmā restored the lost digits (Kalās) to the moon. The Rājayakṣmā now asked Brahmā to assign an abode for its stay. Brahmā assigned the following persons as legitimate victims for Yakṣmā, *viz.*, those who during day, twilight and night cohabit with women. Candra was still weak, and to give him the necessary tonic, Brahmā assigned to him a portion of the Puroḍāśa of the sacrifices, next to the shares of Prajāpati, Indra and Agni. Brahmā further assured Candra that his body would attain its previous perfection at the end of the next great churning of the milk-ocean. Meantime, Candra will wax and wane. Detailed

arrangements for this waxing and waning were then made. One of the 16 digits was given to Śiva who placed it on his head. From this Candra were Havya and Kavya to be produced. The Pitṛs satisfy themselves with Kavya on the afternoon of the Amāvāsyā day. The Devas satisfy themselves with havya. Thus was Candra apportioned on the Candrabhāga hill between Devas and Pitṛs.

He who listens to this story will be freed from consumption.
Here ends Ch. 21.

Ch. 22. Where Candra was first washed on the Candrabhāga hill, there arose the river Sītā; it fell in the lake Bṛhallohita and flowed out westwards into the sea as the river Candrabhāgā. The digression ends here.

Śl. 17. The story of Vasiṣṭha-Arundhatī marriage is resumed: Vasiṣṭha met Sandhyā doing penance on the Candrabhāga hill and desired to know the cause of her penance. At her request, Vasiṣṭha imparted to her the Viṣṇumantra. His first description of Viṣṇu echoes the Viṣṇusahasranāma of the Mahābhārata—

परमं यो महत्तेजः परमं यो महत्तपः ।

परमो यः समाराध्यः विष्णुर्मनसि धीयताम् ॥

Vasiṣṭha then disappeared. Sandhyā propitiated Viṣṇu with that Mantra and her penance. Śls. 52-70, Sandhyā's hymn to Viṣṇu; Śālinī, Anuṣṭubh, Upajāti etc. Viṣṇu appeared before her. She asked of Him that beings should not become prey to love soon after their birth, that she should be the world's first Pativrātā and that whoever looked at her in lust should lose his manliness. Viṣṇu ordained that men and women would begin loving only after attaining youth and granted her the other requests. Viṣṇu told her also that sage Medhātithi was conducting a sacrifice in that same hill and that, thinking of that person whom Sandhyā would like to have as her lord, she might give up her body in the sacrificial fire of Medhātithi. Viṣṇu then touched Sandhyā and she became Puroḍāśa in her body. Unperceived by any, and thinking of Vasiṣṭha as fit to be her lord, Sandhyā entered the fire. Her being went up to the sun who divided her into two, morning Sandhyā and evening Sandhyā, the former delighting the devas, the latter, the pitṛs. From there she was reborn through the fire as a beautiful daughter to Medhātithi

during his sacrifice. She was called Arundhatī because she never would hinder (न रुध्) Dharma ! Ch. ends in Vasantatilakā.

Here is finished Ch. 22.

Ch. 23. Arundhatī's life on the slopes of the Candrabhāga hill, in Medhātithi's hermitage. The pond in which she sported became the holy Arundhatītīrtha. Expatiation on the great merit of bathing in Kārtika in the Candrabhāgā. Brahmā directed Madhātithi to send Arundhatī to Sāvitrī and others for education. Accordingly, Arundhatī receives instruction from Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī, Drupadā and Bahulā who descended to her everyday from the Sun. There in Mānasācala, while yet undergoing tuition, Arundhatī, attained youth; she met Vasiṣṭha and the two fell in love. The gods knowing this arranged their marriage, after bringing Medhātithi there. The waters poured on that occasion took seven branches and became seven lakes and seven rivers: Śiprā from Śipra; Kauśikī from Mahākośī; Mahānadī from Umākṣetra; Kāverī from lake Kavera; Gomatī from Mahākālā; Sarayū from Hamsāvatāra; Irāvati from the south of Himālayas, near Khāṇḍavāraṇya.

The recital of this story of Vasiṣṭha-Arundhatī marriage is meritorious during Puṁsavana, journey and Śrāddha. Last verse in Mālatī.

Here ends Ch. 23.

Ch. 24. With the above ch. ended the digression into the story of the lake Śipra and river Śiprā. Śiva's story is resumed.

Śiva is sadly sitting on Śiprā's banks. The gods pray to goddess Satī or Yogamāyā. Stotra on Satī, Śls. 9-27. As a result of the prayer, Yogamāyā withdraws herself from Śiva's heart. Viṣṇu gets into Śiva's mind and presents to Śiva's vision the creation, preservation and dissolution of the worlds. Śiva gets composed and enters Yoga. The gods retire. The sages ask Mārkaṇḍeya to describe how Viṣṇu conducted creation etc., and how the world is said to be "Nissāra", worthless.

Here ends Ch. 24.

Ch. 25. Description of Vārāha, the Ādisarga, i.e. the primary creation; then of the Pratisarga, or secondary creations, with their dissolutions. Description of time, starting from 'wink'; man's time-measure; god's time-measure etc. The great God is beyond time. Description of Pralaya or dissolution, before creation. This secondary dissolution is called Prakṛtilaya.

Ch. 25 ends here.

Ch. 26. Ādisṛṣṭi from God who is Himself Time. Purāṇic Sāṃkhya account of evolution. Varāha-avatāra story and Vārāhakaḷpa.

Ch. 26 ends here.

Ch. 27. The secondary creations (Pratisargas) begun by the Prajāpatis, Manu, Dakṣa, Marīci etc. From Virāṭ Manu appeared; from Manu, seven lesser Manus, Svāyambhuva, Svārociṣa, Auttami, Tāmasa, Raivata, Cākṣuṣa and Vaivasvata. These created profusely. This creation comprehends animals, men and semi-divine beings, sages and the gods.

Ch. 27 ends thus.

Ch. 28. Definition of a Manvantara and an account of Pralaya closing a Manvantara. The Lord now takes the Kūrma form to bear the globe going down in this deluge. The Lord goes to sleep bearing the Earth. Brahmā sees the Lord in sleep, Yoganidrā, prays to Yoganidrā, Śakti. Śls. 32-40, hymn to Yogamāyā. Yogamāyā then issues out of Viṣṇu in Rājasa form. Then starts creation as of yore.

Ch. 28 ends thus.

Ch. 29. The world thus created and dissolved is therefore Nissāra, pithless. The first Sāra or Being of permanence is Brahman of the form of knowledge. The other Sāra is Dharma which is the means to attain the Permanent. Śls. 7-13, a fine harangue on Dharma as the one supreme thing in the world. Everything else in the world is Nissāra.

Ch. 29 ends thus.

Ch. 30 Viṣṇu revelling in his boar-form with Earth and producing young ones; Śiva derides Viṣṇu and asks him to give up that boar-form.

Ch. 31. The Gods pray to Viṣṇu; Śls. 4-17, prayer to Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is pleased to give up his boar-form and asks Śiva to kill his boar-form, on which Śiva takes the Śarabha-form. Fight between Varāha and Śarabha. There is confusion here, when towards the end the Varāha is called Narasiṃha. Really it is the Narasiṃha-avatāra of Viṣṇu that Śiva puts down as Śarabha. There is a description of Śiva's attendants.

Ch. 31 ends here.

Ch. 32. How the Varāha became Yajñavarāha, the Sacrificial boar: Jyotiṣṭoma was born of its brow—nose juncture; similarly

Vahniṣṭoma, Vrātyastoma, Paunarbhavastoma, Vṛddhastoma, Br̥hatstoma, Atirātra, Vairāja, Adhyāpana, Brahmayaājña, Tarpaṇa, Homa, Devabali, Bhūtayaājña, Nṛyaājña, Atithipūjā, Snāna, Nityayaājña, Vājimedha, Mahāmedha, Naramedha (these sacrifices involving Prāṇihimsā were born of the boar's lowest part, the feet), Rājasūya, Vājapeya, Pratiṣṭha, Utsarga, Dāna, Śrāddha, Sāvitrīyaājña (these from the boar's very heart), Saṁskāras, Prāyaścittas, Rakṣassatra, Sarpasatra, Ābhicārika, Gomeda, Vṛkṣayāga (these from its hoof), Māyeṣṭi, Parameṣṭi, Agniṣoma, Naimittikayaājñas done during Saṁkrānti etc., Dvadaśavārṣika, Tīrthaprayoga, Āśauca, Arka, Ātharvaṇa, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Ṛcotkarṣa, Kṣetrayaājña, Pañcamārga, Atiyojana, Liṅgasamsthāna, Herambayaājña—all told, 1008 sacrificial rites arose from the different parts of the body of the Yaājñavarāha. The sacrificial utensils and other paraphernalia also came out of Its body. The sacrificial fires came out of the bodies of Its sons.

Ch. 32 ends thus.

Ch. 38. The Ākālikapralaya that followed the Vārāhakaḷpa. Sage Kapila's request to Manu for a piece of land for doing penance; Manu's refusal; Kapila's anger and curse calling forth a deluge. The story of the Matsya-avatāra. Manu sights the fish, in this account, at Badarī.

Ends ch. 33.

Ch. 34. Continuation of the story of the Fish-incarnation. Śls. 22-33 Manu's prayer to God Matsya.

Ch. 34 ends.

Ch. 35. The Lord takes the Kūrma-incarnation to make even the surface of the earth at the end of the above Ākālikapralaya. The rest of the creation is completed by Nara-Nārāyaṇa. When herbs grow, sacrifices begin. Dakṣa's daughters marrying Kaśyapa and furthering creation. The tribe of Aditi and Diti, devas and asuras; and other classes of beings.

Ch. 35 ends with this.

Ch. 36. Śiva gives up his Śarabha-form. Out of the main body of Śarabha comes Kapālabhairava. The Kāpālīka sect is incidentally described with their rites: Māmsa mastiṣka medo homa, Surayā-pūjana, Naramāmsabali, Rudhirapāna, Surāpāraṇā, Kapāladhāraṇa and Vyāghracarmadhāraṇa. The form of Kapālabhairava is red, eighteen-armed, red-eyed and He is always sport-

ing with the Nāyikās, Kālī, Pracandā and others. He is also called Śmaśānabhairava and Mahābhairava. His worship with flesh, liquor etc. is done on Caitra śukla caturdaśī.

Ch. 36 ends here.

Ch. 37. Here begins the stories of Naraka, son of Varāha and Bhūmi, born an Asura because begotten by Varāha on a Rajasvalā mother.

Śls. 15-22, Bhūmi's prayer to Varāha. Earth conceived but at God Varāha's direction, did not deliver.

Ch. 38. King Janaka of Videha had no issue. Hearing of king Daśaratha, similarly issueless, getting sons through sacrifice, Janaka starts a sacrifice. Earth gave birth now to Sītā and presenting her to Janaka, told him that after Rāvaṇa and his tribe were destroyed through Sītā, She (Earth) would give birth to a son and that Janaka should bring up that son till his youth. Rāvaṇa and his tribe were killed and Earth yielded to Janaka, her son Naraka, begotten by Varāha. Viṣṇu (Varāha) appeared, told Earth that their son would rule the country of Prāgjyotiṣa so long as he remained a normal man, and disappeared.

Ch. 39. Janaka brought up Naraka for 16 years and then Earth and Viṣṇu took him through the waters of the Ganges to Kāmarūpa or Prāgjyotiṣa where he was made king.

The country of Kāmarūpa was at that time peopled by red-coloured hunters, Kirātas, with shaven heads and living on flesh. Naraka killed their chief, Ghāṭaka. Naraka was mounted on a white elephant.

"Kāmākhyā is the form of Goddess Yogamāyā here; here flows river Lauhityā. Rule from the city of Prāgjyotiṣa.' Having said this to Naraka, Viṣṇu disappeared.

Naraka drove the Kirātas beyond river Karatoyā and settled Brāhmaṇas on the land. Viṣṇu then secured as Naraka's wife Māyā, daughter of the Vidarbha king. He was worshipping Kāmākhyā on the hill Nilakūṭa. King Janaka paid a visit to Naraka.

Here ends Ch. 39.

Ch. 40. Story of Bāṇa ruling at Śoṇitapura, a friend of Naraka. Bāṇa's friendship turned Naraka also into a demon. Naraka prevented Vasiṣṭha from worshipping Kāmākhyā. The Goddess left the temple as a protest against the treatment given to Vasiṣṭha. Bad times overtook Naraka, and Bāṇa was informed

of all these. At Bāṇa's suggestion, Naraka propitiated Brahmā with penance for boons. Bāṇa then suggested that Naraka should attack Indra.

Ch. 40 ends here.

Ch. 41. Naraka begets four sons. Hayagrīva, Mura and other celebrated demons join Naraka who begins to oppress the gods, sages and others.

Meantime at the god's request, Naraka's father, Viṣṇu, descends as Kṛṣṇa to do away with all demons including Naraka. A rapid resume of Kṛṣṇa's exploits. Kṛṣṇa kills Naraka and crowns his son Bhagadatta as king.

Ch. 41 ends here.

Ch. 42. Now the story of Satī becoming Pārvatī, daughter of Himavān is taken up.

Menā worships Yogamāyā. The worship starts on Caitra Aṣṭamī and goes for 27 days. Thus she worships for 27 years. Kālī appears. Śl. 19-28, Menā's prayer to Kālī. Kālī consents to become her daughter.

Pārvatī is born in Vasanta, Navamī, midnight. Story and expression follow Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava.

Ch. 43-46. Story and expression follow Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava. Hence I indicate here only one or two points deserving note: In Ch. 44, after burning Kāma, Śiva smears His body with Kāma's ash. The fire which came out of Śiva's third eye and burnt Kāma is made into Baḍabāgni and assigned to the sea by Brahmā. Ch. 46. Śls. 14-18, the seven sages' hymn to Śiva. Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī took place on Vaiśākha Śukla Pañcamī, Guruvāra when Candrarā was in Uttara-phalgunī and Sūrya in Bharanī.

Ch. 46 ends with this.

Ch. 47. The story of how Gaurī or Kālī won half of Śiva's body. This is given to Mārkaṇḍeya as narrated by sage Aurva to king Sagara. Sagara asks Aurva to discourse to him on this story and on how one should conduct himself, treat one's wife, son etc., on Sadācāra and Rājanīti.

Śl. 32 begins the story of Kālī or Gaurī who enjoys her honeymoon. Once Kālī meets Apsarasas and feels ashamed of Her own dark complexion, on which Śiva bathes Her with the waters of the Ganges on His head and makes Her white (Gaurī). Śls. 86-100, Pārvatī's prayer to Śiva requesting Him to change

Her complexion. Another time, Gaurī sees Herself mirrored in Śiva's heart but mistakes the image for a rival woman. To put an end to any such embarrassment in future, Śiva makes Her part of His body.

Ch. 47 ends here.

Chs. 48, 49. Aurva then gives the story of two gaṇas of Śiva, Bhairava and Vetāla. For this the birth of Skanda is given in detail.

Once the gaṇas, Bhṛṅgi and Mahākāla, posted at the gate, had to see Pārvatī in slipt garment. She curses them to be born as mortals for this sin, but since it was more Her fault, the gaṇas insist on Śiva and Pārvatī too becoming mortals. Śiva is born as Candraśekhara, son of king Pauṣya.

Ch. 50. To marry Him, Pārvatī is born of an Ikṣvāku king, Kākutstha, named Tārāvātī. Her Svayaṁvara, marriage with Candraśekhara and happy life at Karavīrapura.

Ch. 51. Two sons, Tumburu and Suvarcas, are born to Citrāṅgadā, Tārāvātī's sister and a sage named Kapota. The story of Citrāṅgadā's birth.

Chs. 52-53. Kapota wanted Tārāvātī's company. She saved herself by sending Kapota her unmarried sister. But the sage saw the deceit and cursed that Tārāvātī would beget two ugly sons with monkey-faces. So Bhṛṅgi and Mahākāla are born to Her as Vetāla and Bhairava.

Vetāla and Bhairava go for penance. Kapota tells them of the sanctity of Vārāṇasī as a Śivakṣetra.

Difference between Kṣetra and Pīṭha. In a Kṣetra, God is less manifest and blesses only after some time, but in a Pīṭha, He is more present and blesses immediately.

The Māhātmya of the Śiva Pīṭha in Kāmarūpa near Karatoyānadī, where Pārvatī also resides on the Nīlagiri. Account of Śiva's Āśrama in the North-east on the hill called Nāṭakaśaila.

Vetāla and Bhairava go to Nāṭakaśaila to worship Śiva. There is a Tīrtha there called Nandikuṇḍa; and there is also Sandhyācala in the South from which flows river Kāntā, where Vasiṣṭha is stationed. Vasiṣṭha imparts to Vetāla and Bhairava five Mantras—Sammada, Sandoha, Nāda, Gaurava and Prāsāda. From there the two go to Nāṭakaśaila, so called because Śiva is all the time dancing there with His gaṇas and Kinnaras; and there is incessant music. The Nāṭakaśaila is of the form of an umbrella,

Chatrākāra. The two worship Śiva there. Śls. 183-501, prayer by the two to Śiva. The two are given divine forms and asked to propitiate Pārvaṭī.

Ch. 53 ends here.

Ch. 54. The two tell Śiva that they knew not any Mantra or method to propitiate Mahāmāyā or Pārvaṭī. Śiva imparts to them Devī-mantras and methods of Devī-worship.

This, the Purāṇa says, is the teaching which later, Bhairava put in the form of the work called *Sivāmṛta* in 18 Paṭalas, with Nirṇayavidhi and Kalpa. (Śl. 5).

इत्युक्त्वा स महामायाध्यानं मन्त्रं विधिं तथा ।

कथयामास गिरिशः तयोः सम्यङ् नृपोत्तम ॥ ४ ॥

यदष्टादशभिः पश्चात् पटलैश्च स भैरवः ।

सनिर्णयविधिं कल्पं निबबन्ध शिवामृते ॥ ५ ॥

King Sagara asks sage Aurva to give in a short compass what is contained in the 18 sections of this work by Bhairava.

1. The Aṣṭākṣaramantra of Mahā Māyā Vaiṣṇavī.

अस्य श्रीवैष्णवीमन्त्रस्य नारदऋषिः शंभुर्देवता अनुष्टुप्छन्दः सर्वार्थ-
साधने विनियोगः ।

Ch. 54 ends with a description of this Mantra. The colophon implies that the text of Bhairava in 18 Chs. has been incorporated into this section of the Kālikāpurāṇa, in a short form.

इति श्रीकालिकापुराणे महामायाकल्पे अष्टादशपटले चतुःपञ्चाशत्त-
मोऽध्यायः ।

Ch. 55. Account of the worship with the same Mantra continued.

Colophon does not mention Mahāmāyākālpa etc.

Ch. 56. Same subject continued. Materials for the worship are given. Among fragrant pastes for smearing (Anulepana), we find, besides sandal, Kāliyaka and Kūrca, and in the incense-list we find Yakṣa-dhūpa, Prati(Patri)vāha, Piṇḍa-dhūpa, Golaka-dhūpa, Agarū and Sindhuvāra.

Ch. 57. Same subject. Balidāna etc. to Mahāmāyā.

Ch. 58. The Kavaca of the above-given Mantra.

Ch. 59. The Aṅga-mantras of Devī, her Pūjāsthānas, the Uttaramantras and the Kavacas of all these.

Ch. 60. The *Uttaratantra*, supplementing the *Devītantra* described in the previous Ch.

Then Kāmākhyāmāhātmya.

Ch. 61. The Aṅga-mantras. The Durgā-mantra for worship on the Śukla Pañcamī, Aṣṭamī and Navamī in Makaramāsa. Other occasions for this worship are:

Caitra Śukla Aṣṭamī:—with Aśoka flowers.

Jyeṣṭha " " and Navamī—Upavāsa; worship;
Tilānna, Modaka etc. Then Arghya on the Daśamī.

Āṣāḍha and Śrāvaṇa Śukla Aṣṭamī—Pavitrāropana.

Then this Pavitrāropana is described in detail.

With this ends ch. 61.

Ch. 62. Durgā mahotsava. The Āśvayuj Aṣṭamī and Navamī are called Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī, both sacred to Devī. Worship of Devī in Jyeṣṭha and Proṣṭhapada months. The Durgā Navarātra. On the first eight days, Devī was feasting on the battlefield of Rāma and Rāvaṇa; when on the Navamī, Rāvaṇa was killed, Devī was worshipped on that day and on the following Daśamī, with Nīrājana etc. Dance, music, games and other enjoyments mark the festival. A second association of old which the Navarātri commemorates is Indra's worship and Nīrājana of Devī on the Daśamī on the death of Rāvaṇa. The Ch. then proceeds to narrate the other legend of Navarātri, viz., the killing of Mahiṣāsura by Devī. (Śls. 53 ff.) The story of Mahiṣāsura.

Ch. 63. Devī had also joined Śiva in destroying Dakṣa's sacrifice; at the end, the gods worshipped Devī. The Navarātri is a perpetuation of this worship also.

Here and earlier also, the Vijayadaśamī is said to be marked by *Śābara Utsava*. The 'sending away of Devī' on the Daśamī must be done by Sumaṅgalis and maidens, courtezans and dancers, with music and dance. Fried gram, flowers, fragrant dusts and pastes and waters are thrown by people on each other's bodies, and obscene, sexual talk and pranks should be freely indulged in. The Goddess will be angry with him who does not mix in this shameless talk and play.

Then is described the worship of the Aṣṭayoginīs.

Ch. 63 ends here.

Ch. 64. Kāmākhyāmāhātmya, the greatness of Goddess Kāmākhyā at Nilakūṭa hill. The Dainandinapralaya; origin of Madhu and Kaiṭabha, the two demons; the origin of mountains; Śiva and Brahmā became mountains; the Śiva-mountain, Bhasmācala, became the Kubjikāpīṭha, *i. e.* the Nilakūṭa hill. The Yoni which fell from Satī's body turned into stone and became the seat of Kāmeśvarī. The Pīṭhas of the 8 yoginīs.

Ch. 64 ends thus.

Ch. 65. On the five forms of Kāmākhyā.

Ch. 66. Devī worship according to *Vaiṣṇavatāntra* continued. Then the 64 yoginīs and their worship.

Ch. 67. Worship of Devī's adjuncts continued.

Ch. 68. Description and worship of the form Kāmeśvarī. Pūjā according to the *Triṣpurātāntra*, which is mentioned in Śls. 59 and 69. The colophon calls this Ch. Tripurājapa.

Ch. 68 ends thus.

Ch. 69. Śāradāpīṭha and worship of this form named Śāradā. Śāradā is said to be so called, because of her being worshipped in Śarat. This worship is according to three *tantras*, *Vaiṣṇavī*, *Uttarā* and *Durgā*.

Ch. 70. Namaskāra, Mudrā, Balidāna and Mātṛkānyāsa. Mudrās are 108 of which 55 are to be used in worship. The remaining Mudrās, 53, are used in gathering several kinds of objects, in code-communication and in dance, Dravyānayana, Saṅketa and Naṭana. The *Vaiṣṇavītāntra* is cited in this section also. (Śls. 58-60.)

Ch. 70 ends with Mudrās.

Ch. 71. Balidāna as given in the *Vaiṣṇavītāntra*. Animal-sacrifice. Human offering. *Durgātāntra* is also cited (Śls. 152).

The colophon calls the Ch. Balidānavivarāṇa.

Ch. 72. The 16 (ṣoḍaśa) Upacāras: Several kinds of wood and wood-made seats. Clothes in different materials. Nine kinds of deer yielding skin for seat or clothing.

Ch. 73. Kinds of clothing, cotton, wool, silk, tree-bark. Two kinds of dress Syūta, stitched and Asyūta, unstitched. Uttarīya, Uttarāsaṅga, Nicolā, Modacelaka and Paridhāna are five Asyūtas. Śāṇavastra, Nisāra, Ātapavāraṇa, Caṇḍātaka and Adṛśya are five Syūtas.

Śls. 16 ff. Ornaments: 40 kinds of ornaments: Kirīṭa, Śīro-ratna, Kuṇḍala, Lalāṭikā, Tālapatra, Hāra, Graiveyaka, Ūrmikā, Prāṇambikā, Ratnasūtra, Uttāṅgota(?), Ṛkṣamālikā, Pārśvadyota, Nakhadyota, Aṅgulicchāḍaka, Jūṭālaka, Māṇavaka, Mūrdhatārā, Talantikā, Aṅgada, Bāhuvalaya, Śikhābhūṣaṇa, Śikhāliṅgin(?), Prāgaṇḍabandha, Udbhāsa, Nābhipūra, Mālikā, Saptakī, Śṛṅkhalā, Dantapatra, Karṇaka, Ūrusūca, Nīvī(?), Muṣṭivardha, Prakīrṇaka(?), Pādāṅgada, Harṇsaka, Nūpura, Kṣudraghaṇṭikā, Sukha-panṭa(?).

Śls. 37 ff. Gandha. 5 kinds of perfume-powder, paste, melted, liquid extract, extracted from animals like Kastūrī. Mention is made of some of the perfumes coming under each of the 5 classes. *E.g.* Kālēyaka, Candrabhāga.

Śls. 40 ff. Dhūpas: Yakṣadhūpa, Vṛkṣadhūpa, Śrīpiṣṭa, Agaru, Jharjhara, Patrivāha, Piṇḍadhūpa, Sugoḷa, and Kaṇṭha. Vṛkṣadhūpa is given as Vṛkadhūpa and Patrivāha as Putrivāha also.

Ch. 74. Naivedya and Bhakṣyaviśeṣas. Of the 16 Upacāras it is a pity, Tauryatrika is just mentioned and is not described at any length.

Ch. 75. Pradakṣiṇa namaskārau.

Ch. 76. Kāmākhyāmāhātmya continued. How Kāmākhyā forced Viṣṇu and Garuḍa to worship herself. Śls. 42-64, Kāmākhyā-kavaca stotra.

The colophon calls this Ch. Kāmākhyākavaca-māhātmya.

Ch. 77. Mātṛkānyāsa.

Ch. 78. Yonimudrā; 8 kinds. Some Mantra and Yantras.

Ch. 79. Puraścaraṇa; Śls 28-66 Tripurā-kavaca; The white manifestation of Tripurā as Sarasvatī and her worship.

The colophon calls the Ch. Tripurā-kavaca.

Ch. 80. 4 kinds of Mantra, Siddha, Susiddha, Sādhyā, 4th?; on the Mantra-akṣaras; on Mantra-cakra.

Śiva's discourse on Devī-worship to Vetāla and Bhairava ends (76). The two return to Vasiṣṭha and then proceed to Nīlakūṭa and worship Kāmākhyā as taught by Śiva. Their prayer to Devī, (Śls. 96-103) partly in an irregular metre. They regain their divine forms.

Śiva shows them in person the several sacred sports on the Nīlācala: the Guhā of Kāmākhyā; His own Guhā; the Kāmapīṭha, the river Kharatoyā; His own Liṅga called Jalpīśa; Nandikuṇḍa

and Mahākunḍa; river Suvarṇamānasā; Devī's shrine; river Jaṭodā where a bath in Caitra-Sita-Aṣṭamī is of great merit; river Trissrotā, which was the Ganges of the Tretāyuga; rivers Sitaprabhā, Navatoyā, Agadā, etc.

Chs. 81-86. The other holy spots around Kāmākhyā shrine. The description of these places gives rise to many stories, one of which (Chs. 85-86) is the story of Paraśurāma.

Ch. 87. A few verses on a few other gaṇas of Śiva, Bhṛṅgī etc. Then begins sage Aurva's discourse on Dharma or Nīti.

Indriyanigraha most essential for kings; the qualities which a king should acquire; the four Upāyas; Ariṣaḍvarga (kāma etc.) must be won; the king should avoid Vyasanās, Strī, Mṛgayā etc. Yāna, Āsana, Āśraya, Dvaidha, Sandhi, Kośa, Janapada, Daṇḍa; Kṛṣi, Vāṇijya, Durga, Aṣṭavarga, Cāras, Upadhā; Durga and its several kinds; how the king should treat the womenfolk of the palace as also his sons. At the end of the Ch. *Śukra* and *Bṛhaspati* are mentioned as having written on this subject extensively.

Ch. 88. *Sadācāra*. Description of Sadācāra, the general Dharma which a king should observe, Yajana, Adhyayana, Devapūjana, Śrāddha, Pitr̥tarpaṇa, Maitra, and other duties which the king as a Gṛhastha must fulfil. He must see that every citizen observes his Dharma and there is no Dharmasaṅkara.

In Śarat, Mahāṣṭamī, the king must worship Durgā and conduct Nīrājana on the Daśamī. In Pauṣa-tṛtiyā, the king must do Puṣyābhiṣecana. In Jyēṣṭhā, Daśaharā, the king must do Viṣṇu-iṣṭi. When Sūrya is in Śimha, i.e., in Śrāvaṇa, in Dvādaśī, the king must conduct Śakrapūjā.

Then, a description of Nīrājanavidhi in Āśvina Śukla-pakṣa. Worship of a horse, the Dikpālakas, other Devas, and Homa for seven days. On the seventh day, worship of Remanta, son of Sūrya. Śāntikarman for the King's Caturāṅgasainya. Vājī-nīrājana.

Ch. 89. Puṣyasnānavidhi. This is also a Śāntikarman to ward off several kinds of evil.

Ch. 90. Śakradhvaja festival to be conducted by a king for ensuring victory for himself. This is celebrated when Sūrya is in Śimha, i. e. Śrāvaṇa. Uparicara Vasu started this, during the rains, on the dark Dvādaśī. First, cutting of the tree for the flag-

pole; then in Bhādrapada-Śukla-Aṣṭamī, the flag-pole must be brought to the Vēdi. The best and highest pole is to measure more than 42 hastas or 52 hastas. Five images of maidens should be established to represent Indra, and other women images are also to be there, called Śakra-mātṛkas. The measurements for these images are given. The banner has to be tied to the pole on Śukla-Ekādaśī. On Dvādaśī, worship of this pole which represents Indra. The whole flag with pole is then raised (śakra-dhvaja-utthāpana) with hymns on Indra. Bells, chowries and garlands are tied to this flag. A state-officer with an architect should raise Indra's banner.

Uttaratantra is said to be the source of this account (Śl. 27).

At the foot of the banner, pūjā must be done for Indra, Śacī, Mātali, Jayanta, Vajra, Airāvata, Grahas and Dikpālas. Homa, Naivedya etc. The pūjā is for seven days. Visarjana of Śakra on Dvādaśī, in the last pāda of Bharanī. After Visarjana, the flag is to be thrown in deep water. The king should not see the flag being abandoned. The throwing should be quietly done by night.

Ch. 91. Viṣṇu-iṣṭi for the king in Jyēṣṭhā; worship of Hari in a golden image or an image of wood or stone.

Here the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is twice referred to by Mārkaṇḍeya (Śl. 70 in Ch. 91 and Śl. 2 in Ch. 92) as containing his previous discourses on these subjects.

On Pañcamī in Jyēṣṭhā, Lakṣmī pūjā. Some of the acts a king should and should not do; on several kinds of sons and the duties to be done to them; what a Śūdra should not do; other acts a king should and should not do, *i.e.* some Sadācāras for the king.

Ch. 92. No good future for the sonless soul; importance of sons; the story of how Bhairava begot a son on Urvaśī; the line of Bhairava through that son; in this line was born a king called Vijaya who created the Khāṇḍava forest which Arjuna subsequently burnt. The story of Khāṇḍava-dāha.

Ch 93. The line of Vetāla. It is strange that Vetāla's line is the animal class, cows, through Kāmadhenu. Importance of cows.

Winding up of the contents of the Purāṇa. The Ch. ends with a prayer to Māyā.

NOTES ON THE ANCIENT POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTH INDIA

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2. MUṆḌARĀṢṬRA

The rāṣṭra probably owes its name to the Muṇḍas who are classed together with the Dravidians as the aboriginal tribes of South India belonging to the same anthropological type. The limits of Muṇḍarāṣṭra are no way definite though its situation in the Nellore District of the Madras Presidency is established.¹

The rāṣṭra finds mention in three early grants of the Pallavas, which enable us to fix its exact position. It can be said that the country between the rivers Pennār and Suvarṇamukhī bounded on the west by a range of the Eastern Ghats and on the east by the sea was the region of the Muṇḍarāṣṭra. This corresponds to the present Nellore District south of the river Pennār. This location is made on certain identifications, made here for the first time, of the names that occur in the grants mentioned above. The identifications are that R. Suprayōgā of the Uruvapalle plates is the Pennār (Uttarapinākinī) and that the villages Uruvapalle, Keṇḍukūra³, Karupūra and Kṇḍamuruvudu mentioned in the same grant are Vulavapalle⁴, Gollakandukūru⁵, Kanupurapalle

1. H. K. Sastri: EI., XI, p. 342. In later inscriptions places in and around Nellore are stated to belong to Muṇḍaināḍu.

2. ARE., 1900, II, para 47, p. 17.

3. The Pikira grant of Siṃhavarman (EI., viii, p. 159), the Uruvapalle grant of Y. M. Viṣṇugōpa (IA. v, p. 30); and the Vīlavattī grant of Siṃhavarman (C. P. 106 of 1933-34).

3a. It is interesting to note that the suffix ending 'kura' of this village name means a town in the ancient vocabulary of the Muṇḍa languages (*Vide*: Jean Prazyluski, JAHRS. iv, p. 52).

4. 79. 35' E. Long 14. 32' N. Lat.; the postal directory includes the village in the Nellore Taluq.

5. Contra. Venkayya, ARE., 1904-5, II. para 2, who took it to be Kandukūr, the headquarters of a taluq in the Nellore district.

and Koṇḍamīdikonḍūru, which are all situated on the banks of the Pennār in the Ātmakūr Taluq of the Nellore Dt., within a radius of five miles from the town of Ātmakūr itself¹. Further, the Pikira of Śiṃhavarman's grant may be likewise identified with Pigilam, a village on the railway line from Gūḍūr to Veṅkaṭagiri in the Veṅkaṭagiri Division².

On the identification of Suprayōgā more has to be said. It is a river to which we have very few references in the whole range of inscriptions and literature. For, besides the reference in the Uruvapalle plates, the only other inscriptional notice of it is in the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra³ where an additional detail regarding the river is recorded, *viz.*, that it was situated in the Hiranyarāṣṭra, with the village Biriparu on its southern bank. In literature it is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*⁴, the *Vāyupurāṇa*⁵ and in the *Avantisundarikathā*⁶ and *Bhagavadajjuka*,⁷ two works of the Pallava period. In all the passages in which the river finds mention most of the other principal rivers of South India, like the Narmadā, Gōdāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, Tuṅgabhadrā, Kāvērī and Tāmraparṇī are mentioned so that the identification of Suprayōgā with any of these is not permissible. Further, in the lists that include Suprayōgā there is no notice of Pennār at all. From the passage in the *Bhagavadajjuka* quoted below, it may be inferred that it was a river situated north of Kāñcī, perhaps not very far, as by crossing it one reached Kāñcī. It is not possible to mistake this reference as the stanza in question means more than a casual

The absence of any river near Kandukūr makes this identification untenable.

1. Survey map 57 N/NE.
2. Survey Map 57 N/SE 79. 41 E Long 14 O' N Lat.
3. EI. xi, p. 395 text l. 20.
4. Bhīṣmaparvan, canto IX, v. 20.
5. Adhyāya 45, v. 104.

Gōdāvarī Bhīmarathī Kṛṣṇavēṇyāñca Vañjulā|
Tuṅgabhadrā Suprayōgā Kāvērī ca tathāpagā|
Dakṣiṇāpathanadyastu Sahyapādādviniṣṭāh||

6. I am obliged to Mr. M. R. Kavi for this reference.

7. Gōlēyīm Kṛṣṇavēṇām paśupatibhavanam suprayōgāñca
Kāñcim, J. B. B. R. S. X.

enumeration of rivers and places unlike the *Mahābhārata* and the *Avaniisundarīkathā*. It describes the route taken by Yama, and the places and rivers mentioned therein follow the order in which they lay along the route. Suprayōgā is mentioned between Paśupatibhavanam *i. e.* Śrīśailam, and Kāñci, and the only river of note in this region is the Pennār, with its tributaries Kundēru, Citrāvati, Pāpaghni and Ceyyēru, the first of which joins it after flowing north to south and the rest after flowing south to north. Therefore it is possible to hold that Suprayōgā is the river Pennār. This gains further support from the detail afforded by the Mālēpāḍu plates, *viz.* that it flowed through Hiranyarāṣṭra and that Biriparu¹ was situated on its southern bank. Now, on the identification of Hiranyarāṣṭra our position finally rests. But for one clue found in an inscription of Rāṣṭra-kūṭa Kṛṣṇa III at Puṣpagiri², the identification of Hiranyarāṣṭra would have to be left to pure conjecture. For, from a statement made in that inscription we come to know that Muḷikināḍu formed part of Honnavāḍi. Muḷikināḍu, it has been held quite correctly, was the name of the country round about Puṣpagiri and Kāmalāpuram near Cuddapah, which is referred to as Muḷiki 300 in early inscriptions³. Honnavāḍi is, doubtless, the Canarese form of Hiranyarāṣṭra as 'honnu' is the Canarese synonym for 'hiranya' or gold. Hiranyarāṣṭra or Honnavāḍi, being the region in which Muḷikināḍu was situated, may be identified with the country now forming the Kāmalāpuram and Cuddapah Taluqs.

The river that flows through this region is found to be the Pennār. The same river again flows near the villages mentioned in the Uruvapalle grant as seen above. Pennār is common to both the regions and likewise the Suprayōgā of the inscriptions. It follows, therefore, that the two rivers are identical.

From the foregoing discussion it would be seen that the limits of Muṇḍarāṣṭra were well-defined and that the terri-

1. The reading is not Biraparu as Krishna Sastri had read it. EI, xi, 345 l. 20 *Vide* plate opposite.

2. ARE 306 of 1905 of Kṛṣṇa Kanhabedeva. This king is, no doubt, Kṛṣṇa III who has left another inscription in the same district, at Rāmeśvaram in the Proddatūr taluq (ARE 363 of 1904).

3. ARE 395 of 1904.

tory roughly included the portion of the Nellore Dt. south of Pennār and north of R. Suvarṇamukhī.

3. DRAMIḤA OR TUṆḌĀKARĀṢṬRA

The country situated adjacent to Muṇḍarāṣṭra towards its south was known as Dramiḥa, which after the advent of the Pallavas in the region, acquired another name and came to be known as Tuṇḍākarāṣṭra or Tuṇḍaka-Viṣaya¹. The name Tuṇḍākarāṣṭra is of great significance. It is obviously a Sanskritisation of the Tamil form Toṇḍaināḍu which again is a Tamilisation of the Sanskrit term Pallavarāṣṭra. The origin of the term Pallava apart, in the Tamil Language it came to be translated literally into Toṇḍai, meaning a sprout or creeper²; and the Pallavas were accordingly called Toṇḍaiyārs, their country, the Toṇḍaināḍu and their king Toṇḍaimān or Toṇḍaiyarkoṇ. It is important to note that while mostly in Tamil sources this region is called Toṇḍaināḍu, all other references to it are by the first and earlier name of Dramiḥa. Probably the earliest epigraphical reference to this region is found in the Hatigumpha inscription of king Khāravēla³ where Tramira seems to be the form in which it was known. In the early Prākṛt inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus

1. Kāśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, SII. ii, p. 359. Vokkalēri plates of Kirtivarman II, EI, v, p. 200. "Tuṇḍaka-viṣayam . . . prāpya kāñcim avināśya praviśya".

2. To indicate that 'Pallava' is an earlier term than 'Toṇḍaiyār' and not *vice versa* as is supposed, it may be stated that in its origin the term Pallava does not seem to have had the meaning of creeper that Toṇḍai signifies. On the other hand, its meaning seemed to have been 'a libertine' and 'paramour' and, in my opinion, this meaning fits very well with the legendary account of the origin of the Pallavas as a mixed race born of a liaison, an account which is in an indirect manner referred to in the Vēlūrpalāyam plates in the term 'Cūtapallava'. It may be therefore suggested that in the process of Tamilisation, Pallava was understood as a creeper and accordingly translated into Toṇḍai. It is important to note that the term 'Pallava' or the 'Toṇḍaiyār' did not indicate the Pallava dynasty of rulers in the same manner as Villavaṇ and Miṇavaṇ referred to the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya in the sense of their having the emblem of the Toṇḍai like the bow (vil) of the Cēra and the fish (Miṇ) of the Pāṇḍya. The Pallava emblem was not the Toṇḍai but the Khaṭvāṅga, and their crest the bull.

3. EI., XX, pp. 78 and 85.

it is termed *Draṁiḷa*¹ and in the Buddhist Pāli literature *Damiḷō*² is the term applied. *Kīrtivarmaṇ* I (568-98 A. D.) is stated to have subdued the king of *Draṁiḷa* besides those of *Kēraḷa*, *Gaṅga*, *Mūṣaka*, *Pāṇḍya*, *Cōliya*, *Āḷuka* and *Vaijayanti*³. The distinction that is always maintained between *Draṁiḷa* on the one hand and the rest of the kingdoms of South India on the other, goes to show that the *Draṁiḷa* country was small in area, certainly not big at all, as it did not include the other kingdoms of the south⁴. This receives support from the fact that among the conquests of *Pallava* *Siṁhaviṣṇu* all the south Indian kingdoms like *Malaya* *Kaḷabhra Cōḷa*, *Pāṇḍya* and *Kēraḷa* are mentioned but not *Draṁiḷa*,

1. *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* Inss. EI, xx, pp. 22-3 text 'Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Damiḷa, Paḷūra and Tāmbapamṇi.' EI, x, Luder's list no. 1243.

2. *Mahāvamśa*, ch. xxi I. 13. Geiger's translation p. 143. *Elāra* is stated to be a *Damiḷa* of noble birth who proceeded to Ceylon from *Cōlaraṭṭha*. He would appear to have gone to Ceylon from the *Draṁiḷa* country to which he belonged, after annexing the *Cōlaraṭṭha*. It is not possible to assume that *Damiḷa* was the common form employed to indicate the *Pāṇḍyan* Kingdom of *Madura*, the *Cōlaraṭṭha* and all the other kingdoms of the south. *Pāṇḍyan* kingdom was certainly outside of *Damiḷa*, the statement in the *Mahāvamśa* itself being that it was in *Dakṣiṇa* only. All the references to the *Damiḷas* in the *Mahāvamśa* may be taken to refer only to the people of *Draṁiḷa*, and this is well supported by the existence of intimate intercourse with Ceylon from the *Draṁiḷa* country, which is attested by the fact that *Yuan Chwang* sought to leave for Ceylon from a port in *Draṁiḷa*. The conquest of Ceylon by *Siṁhaviṣṇu* I and the rather intimate personal relations that existed between *Narasimhavarmaṇ* I and *Mānavarma* of Ceylon who sought the aid of the *Pallava* to regain his throne are all instances in point. Further, *Narasimha*'s army is called the 'Damiḷi-sēnā' in *Mahāvamśa* J.R.A.S. 1913, p. 527. *Vide* B. C. Chhabra: J.A.S.B. Letters I, p. 9; also B.C. Law: Ind. Cul., III, p. 386.

3. IE. xix, p. 18, "Vaṅgāṅgakaliṅga vaṭṭūra Magadha Madra Kēraḷa Gaṅga Mūṣaka Pāṇḍya Draṁiḷa Cōḷiyāḷuka Vaijayantya prabhṛti".

4. In the *Mahābhārata* ii, 34, 1271; iii 51, 1788; v 22, 656; viii 11, 454, *Drāviḍas* who attended the *Rājasūya* sacrifice and later fought in the war are mentioned as distinct from the *Cōḷas*, *Cēras* and *Pāṇḍyas*. (P. T. S. Aiyangar. History of the Tamils, p. 328; S. K. Aiyangar: contributions, p. 136.)

because that country was his own and under his rule. We get to know of the exact limits of the territory and its situation more accurately from the account of Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller, whose description of Draviḍa and its capital Kāñcī-pura, leaves no doubt that the Dramiḷa country was 'the country of the Pallavas on the east coast, with Kāñcī as its capital,¹ and which had a sea-port, the place of embarkation for Ceylon. This is the country that is immediately south of Muṇḍarāṣṭra. The identity of Dramiḷa with the kingdom of Pallava of Kāñcī is further borne out by the fact that the Pallava princes Citramāya and others who opposed the accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla were termed Dramiḷa princes². Again, at a later period, it is found that the term Damarigas came to be applied to the forces of the Kāḍuveṭṭi or the Pallava³. A general of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III is stated to have taken Kāñcī from the 'knaveish Dramiḍas'⁴. Śrutadēvasūri, of unknown date, the commentator of the Jaina work *Yāsastilaka*, a work of the time of the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch, equates Pañcadramiḷa with the Pallava territory⁵. Whether the form Pañcadramiḷa indicates five divisions of the kingdom is an assumption that can be by no means definite as no clue to the significance of the number in respect of another such term, the Pañcapāṇḍya, is available in spite of the fact that in the latter case Pāṇḍyan kingship in its later days was not single⁶.

DRAMILĀ, TAMIL AND TAMILĀGM.

Having indicated the situation of the Dramiḷa country, it is necessary to examine the term Tamil. Bishop Caldwell held the view that the terms Tamil and Draviḍa, though they seemed to

1. Fleet, IA. xix, p. 18.

2. SII, ii, p. 367 Udayēndiram plates, text II. 46 ff.

3. Gulganpode inscriptions of Mahābali Bāṇarsa, father of Prabhumēru., EC. x, Sp. 5. It is stated in this connection that a servant of Prabhumēru pursued the Damarigas and smote them. From the next inscription (Sp. 6) the Damarigas are found to be the forces of Kāḍuveṭṭi, the Pallava. An inscription of a Pallava is noticed at the same place, (IA. x, p. 36.).

4. ARE 383 of 1904.

5. *Yāsastilaka*, canto I, vs. 207-9; commentary on.

6. SII. i. p. 113 and n 3. Rājēndracōḷa is called Pañcadramiḷādhipati and it is supposed that the title represents the five chiefs.

differ a good deal, were identical in origin, and he further assumed the word Draviḍa to be the Sanskrit form and deduced Tamil from it. His general position may be accepted, but there is no need to accept his statement as to Draviḍa being Sanskrit, and Tamil a later derivation from it, as there is a common and correct form that occurs in inscriptions, *viz.*, Tramrand Dramiḷa, with its Prākṛt and Pāli equivalents Damiḷa and Damiḷō. It would appear that Draviḍa was a Sanskritisation of the original form Dramiḷa and Tamiḷ having no connection with the Sanskrit form came to be derived directly from Dramiḷa or Tramira.

From this, though it may involve a slight digression, we are led to examine the term Tamiḷagam to ascertain its geographical application and to see if it has any bearing on the location of Dramiḷa. V. Kanakasabhai sought to define the limits of Tamiḷagam and said that "they were from Venkaṭa Hill in the north to Cape Comorin in the south and from the Bay of Bengal in the east to the Arabian sea in the west."¹ His view is substantially correct, but requires greater definiteness. This is supplied when the accounts of the Periplus and Ptolemy are examined. The first ports of Limyrike, *i.e.*, Tamiḷagam, according to them, are Naura and Tyndis which are situated in the north Cēra country.² From the same source it is known that Nitra formed the southernmost port of the Āriake. It is not possible to treat Nitra and Naura as identical, for the one was in Āriake while the other was in Limyrike. Before the identification of the first ports of Limyrike is settled beyond doubt, the port of Nitra, doubtless that which was situated at the mouths of the R. Nētrāvati, corresponding to the modern Mangalore, may be accepted as the dividing point between Āriake and Limyrike. This is supported by the statements in Tamil literature and in one of the Pāṇḍyan grants. From the former it is known that Imayavarambaṇ Neṭuñcēralāṭaṇ, a Śaṅgam celebrity, famous as the destroyer of the Kaḍambas, fought the Āryas beyond the north of the southern border of Tuḷunāḍu;³ Tuḷunāḍu has come to be identified with the country around Mangalore, and the fight with the Āryas might have taken place on the southern borders of Āriake, where

1. Tamils 1800 Years ago, p. 9. He bases this on the Śilappadikāram, VIII, 1 and 2.

2. K. G. Sesha Aiyar, Cēras.

3. K. N. S. Pillai, Chronology of the Tamils, pp. 116-7.

Mangalore, which corresponds to Nitra of Ptolemy, is situated. Again, in the Vēlvikuḍi grant, Kōccaḍaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra who had the titles Madurakarunāṭakaṇ and Koṅgarkōmāṇ, is said to have attacked and subdued the Mahārathas in the great city of Maṅgalāpuram, which has been identified with the modern Mangalore.¹ The Mahārathas and the Āryas are often treated as identical and the fight at Mangalore may be understood to be one of the border fights between the people of the south and the Āryas of Ariake. Mangalore can, therefore, be taken to be the northern limit of Tamiḷagam on the west coast. On the east coast, Veṅkaḍam can be accepted as the northern limit for the reason that beyond that limit great difference in language is noted. Māmūlaṇār, a Śaṅgam poet, famous as the one who testified to a Mauryan invasion of Tamiḷagam, has noticed this difference in language in the region beyond Veṅkaḍam.² The same language difference was noted by Yuan Chwang who remarks that 'in their written and spoken language they (*i.e.*, the people of Draviḍa) differed from Mid-India.' The northern limit of Tamiḷagam on the East Coast thus fixed at Veṅkaḍam, it is seen that it does not extend beyond the northern limit of Dramiḷa as just at the point where Veṅkaḍam stands Muṇḍarāṣṭra begins. It is evident that Dramiḷa and Tamiḷagam start at the same point and while Tamiḷagam came to mean a larger area, Dramiḷa applied to a much smaller and limited region.

It is therefore possible to take the view that Dramiḷa gave its name to the region to its south which came to be called Tamiḷagam. Instances of small pieces of territory giving their names to whole continents are not wanting in history. Hindusthan is an instance in point. Originally applied to a limited region in the Indus valley, it came to signify the whole land between the Indus and the Ganges and finally the whole of India. For such results foreigners are found to be not less responsible than the highly imaginative native poets, who do not falter to describe large regions by the names of their most important units unmindful that there may exist various independent units that comprise the region. A close examination of the account in the Periplus, of sections 59-61, reveals that the author's Damirica did not include certain regions like the Paralia, the Argaru and the parts

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: The Pandyan Kingdom, p. 55.

2. Māmūlaṇār: Agam, 31, 127, 211, 295.

Camara, Peduca and Sopatma.¹ He betrays an ignorance as to what really constituted Damirica for, at the outset he declared that with Naura and Tyndis began the first markets of Damirica, while in the sections referred to above he excludes certain regions situated south from it. Damirica seems to have been as vague a term as Dakṣiṇābades in the accounts of these classical writers and such vagueness of nomenclature is noticed in the Mahābhārata also. For instance, Sahadeva is stated to have proceeded to Dakṣiṇāpatha after subduing the Pāṇḍyas, a statement which sounds absurd. It seems, therefore, quite reasonable to believe that at very early times the purely Tamil country or the country of the Tamils or Dramiḷas did not exceed beyond the limits of Dramiḷa.

The above view receives a certain amount of linguistic support. It is held that there are great differences as well as similarities between the Muṇḍa and the Dravidian groups of languages, though the anthropological sameness of the two people is conceded. The similarities are resorted to by scholars to postulate a common origin theory for the two groups of languages, while sceptical scholars resort to the differences to dispute it. Whatever may be the truth, the similarities, at any rate, presuppose an intercourse between the Drāviḍas and the Muṇḍas. Sten Konow, the most sceptical of the opponents of the common origin theory, however concludes by saying "Draviḍas and Muṇḍas must have had early intercourse with each other..... and coincidences between them in vocabulary cannot prove any philological connection." It is not appropriate here to proceed further with the discussion but it may be remarked that nothing could be more striking and of greater significance for the linguists than that, according to our geographical survey, Muṇḍarāṣṭra and Dramiḷa are found to be situated in such close proximity. The intercourse between the two groups of people caused by their close proximity largely explains the similarities in their respective languages, and while the language of the country south of Dramiḷa came to be based on or greatly influenced by the language of Dramiḷa with the Muṇḍa elements in it, the language of the people north of Muṇḍarāṣṭra received the Dravidian elements likewise.

1. Scholf's Edition p. 46-7; *vide also* Kanakasabhai: Tamils, p. 36 for a clearer rendering of the account.

LIMITS OF DRAMIḻA.

The limits of Dramiḻa or Tuṇḍaka may now be indicated. The country between the R. Suvarṇamukhī on the north and R. Peṇṇai (Southern Pennar) in the South Arcot Dt., on the south,¹ bounded on the west by the range of the Eastern ghats was the region of Dramiḻa. It included the whole of Chingleput Dt. and portions of North Arcot and South Arcot districts. The administrative units, usually named Kōṭṭam and Nāḍus, that comprised Tuṇḍaka are not all of them known from the few inscriptions of this period. Paīyyūṛilaṅkōṭṭam, of which Mallam of Tiruvāmbūr, and Tiruvorriyūr were two important places, was situated in the northern part corresponding to the Ponneri Taluq of the Chingleput Dt., and the Sulurpet division of the Nellore Dt. Others were Maṇayirkōṭṭam, in which was situated Poṇṇanaḍu, and Urrukkattakkōṭṭam, both lying west of Kāñcī². Adayara rāṣṭra or Paścimārya Nadiṣaya, a literal Sanskrit translation of the Tamil term Melaḍaiyāṛunaḍu, was another unit near Kāñcī towards its south on the banks of the Pālār³. Poliyūrnāḍu, of which Taṇḍalam, now in the Karvetnagar Zamindari, was a village, was another division situated around the modern Arkonam, N.A. District⁴. Pūndamallee was the head-quarters of another division. Mallai and Mayilai, Māmallapuram and Mayilāpuram respectively, were places of importance for the whole district. The former, being a sea-coast town, was perhaps the port of embarkation for Ceylon and the latter was a place of pilgrimage.

1. E. I. IX p. 84; The Ambasamudram inscription of Varaguṇa (c. 800 A.D.) records that R. Pennai was in Tuṇḍaināḍu. It is doubtful if it could have extended so far south, as the River Cheyyar seems to be its normal limit. In the recent article in *Śen Tamil* (Vol. XXXVI.) Mr. S. S. Bharatiyar concludes on the available Tamil literary evidence that Kumari the southern boundary of Tamilāgam was the name of a River and that to its south there was a piece of territory that was non-Tamil. It may be suggested, on the strength of his conclusion, that R. Peṇṇai was probably the Kumari of Tamil Literature.

2. S. I. I. I, p. 154-5.

3. S. I. I. II, p. 365-382.

4. E. I. VII. p. 25; Taṇḍalam rock inscription of a Pallava-mahārāja C. 850 A. D.

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ भट्टबाणः ॥

(महामहोपाध्याय आर्. वि. कृष्णमाचार्याः)

आर्यमिश्राः ।

अनवद्यम् अमृषोद्यं चेदं भट्टबाणमहाकवेः सुभाषितम्—यदुच्यते—
“शक्याशक्यपरिसंख्यानशून्याः प्रायेण स्वार्थतृषः । परगुणानुरागिणी प्रियजन-
कथाश्रवणरसरभसमोहिता च, मन्ये, महतामपि मतिरपहरति प्रविवेकम्”
इति । अत एव, विश्वसिमः, अविगण्य परमाणुपरिमाणतां वटुहृदयस्य,
अनाकल्य परिमितवर्णवृत्तितां शब्दकतिपयानाम्, आदिष्टाः स्मः संस्कृतसेवा-
समित्या प्रस्तुत्य भट्टबाणप्रबन्धं वाङ्मुखं किमप्यवतारयितुम् । नूनमिदं “सर्वज्ञस्या-
प्यविषयः, वाचस्पतेरप्यगोचरः, सरस्वत्या अप्यतिभारः”, किमुत मन्दमतीनाम-
स्मादृशम् । अस्य हि वर्णविन्यासान् पश्यतां रसिकानाम् अतिसंकटमम्बरतलम्,
लिखतां पदजालानि अविस्तीर्णं महीमण्डलम्, गणयतामर्थगुणान् अल्पीयसी
संख्या, शृण्वतां व्यङ्ग्यविशेषान् अबहुभाषिणी सरस्वती, ध्यायतां रसपारि-
पोषान् हसीयान् कालो हृदयस्य आपतति ।

अथवा, निपुणनिरूपणे, रूपान्तरमेवेदं प्रसादप्रकर्षस्य, यत्स्वाधीनो
जनः स्व इवान्तरात्मा निर्विशङ्कमुपयुज्यते नियोगकर्मणि । अणुरपि प्रभु-
प्रसादपरिग्रहः समुपजनयति प्रागल्भ्यमधीरप्रकृतेः इति भट्टबाणः । “संभावना
द्व्यधिकृतस्य तनोति तेजः” इति भारविः । ततश्च, निपुणा इव विदितवेदि-
तव्या इव च धन्यमात्मानं मन्यमानाः, तदेकदेशनिरूपणे प्रवृत्ताः स्मः ।
“कः खलु पुरुषायुषशतेनापि शक्नुयादविकलमस्य गुणगणं वर्णयितुम्” ।
“इयमधिगतकतिपयाक्षरलवलयीयसी जिह्वा क्रोपयोगमन्यत्र गमिष्यति” ॥

“नैसर्गिकी च प्रतिभा श्रुतं च बहु निर्मलम् । अमन्दश्चाभियोगोऽस्याः
कारणं काव्यसंपदः ॥” इत्याचार्यदण्डी । “लोको विद्या प्रकीर्णं च काव्या-

ज्ञानि”, “लोकवृत्तं लोकः” इति वामनः । “शक्तिर्निपुणता लोकशास्त्रकाव्या-
द्यवेक्षणात् । काव्यज्ञशिक्षयाम्यास इति हेतुस्तदुद्भवे ॥” इति मम्मटः । तदेतद-
खिलमपि काव्याङ्गमस्मिन्नायतते वात्स्यायने महाकवावित्यत्र को नाम सचेतनः
संशेताम् ? यदेष चित्रभानुसूनुः, आत्मनो वयसा समानान् सुहृदः सहायांश्च,
येषां परिचयेन लोकवृत्तं सुशिक्षितं भवति, स्वयमेव निर्दिशति—तद्यथा—
“भ्रातरौ पारशवौ चन्द्रसेनमातृषेणौ, भाषाकविरीशानः परं मित्रम्, प्रणयिनौ
रुद्रनारायणौ, विद्वांसौ वारवाणवासबाणौ, वर्णकविवैष्णवीभारतः, प्राकृतकृत
कुलपुत्रो वायुविकारः, वन्दिनावनङ्गबाणसूचीबाणौ, कात्यायनिका चक्र-
वाकिका, जाङ्गुलिको मयूरकः, ताम्बूलदायकश्चण्डकः, भिषक्पुत्रो मन्दारकः,
पुस्तकवाचकः सुदृष्टिः, कलादश्वामीकरः, हैरिकः सिन्धुषेणः, लेखको
गोविन्दकः, चित्रकूटदीरवर्मा, पुस्तकृत् कुमारदत्तः, मार्दङ्गिको जीमूतः, गायनौ
सोमिलप्रहादिल्यौ, सैरन्ध्री कुरङ्गिका, वांशिकौ मधुकरपारावतौ, गन्धर्वौ-
पाध्यायो दर्दुरकः, संवाहिका केरलिका, लासकयुवा ताण्डविकः, आक्षिक
आखण्डकः, कितवो भीमकः, शैलालियुवा शिखण्डकः, नर्तकी हरिणिका,
पराशरी सुमतिः, क्षपणको वीरदेवः, कथको जयसेनः, शैवो वक्रघोणः, मन्त्र-
साधकः करालः, असुरविवरव्यसनी लोहिताक्षः, धातुवादवित् विहंगमः,
दार्दुरिको दामोदरः, ऐन्द्रजालिकश्चकोराक्षः, मस्करी ताम्रचूडः । स
एतैश्चान्यैश्चानुगम्यमानो बालतया निघ्नतामुपगतो देशान्तरालोकनकौतुका-
क्षितद्वयः, सत्स्वपि पितृपितामहोपात्तेषु ब्राह्मणजनोचितेषु विभवेषु, सति च
अविच्छिन्ने विद्याप्रसङ्गे, गृहान्निर्गतात् । अगाच्च निरवग्रहो ग्रहवानिव नव-
यौवनेन स्वैरिणा मनसा महतामुपहास्यताम् ।” इति । “अथ शनैः शनै-
रयुदारव्यवहृतिमनोहन्ति बृहन्ति राजकुलानि वीक्षमाणः, निरवद्यविद्याविद्योति-
तानि च गुरुकुलानि सेवमानः, महार्हालापगम्भीरा गुणवद्गोष्ठीश्चोपतिष्ठमानः,
स्वभावगम्भीरधीधनानि विदग्धमण्डलानि च गाहमानः, पुनरपि तामेव वैपश्चिती-
मात्मवंशोचितां प्रकृतिमभजत्” इति कथयन्, आत्मनो विद्यासंपत्तिम्,
तत्साधनसंपदं च स्वयमेवाविष्करोति ॥

सहृदयाः ! पश्यन्तु भवन्तः—एतादृशेन संस्कृतमनसा शिक्षितमतिना
राजदेवीकुमारेण भट्टबाणेन किमु नाम लोकवृत्तमनाकलितमवर्णितमवशिष्टं भवि-
ष्यति ? यत्पुनरन्यः कविरात्मना वर्णयितुं प्रगल्भताम् । इममेव ह्याशयमन्तर्भाव-
यन्ती ‘बाणोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम्’ इति सहृदयगोष्ठीषु प्रथते प्रथीयसी प्रख्यातिः ॥

यदा च महाकविरयम्, अभिनवार्थसमर्थकानि अप्राप्त्यजातिपक्षपातीनि अक्लिष्टश्लेषसुश्लिष्टानि, स्फुटावभासरसविलासभासुराणि, विकटाक्षरबन्धबन्धुराणि च पदानि प्रयुञ्जानः, कमप्यपूर्वमाह्लादैकमयमन्यं सिसृक्षति बाङ्मयं प्रपञ्चम्, तदा पुरस्तादहमहमिकया प्रादुर्भूतानि तान्येतानि, किमु नाम वसुधा सूते, अथ वा रसातलमुद्गिरति, आहोस्त्रिदम्बरतलमभिवर्षति ? तदा चास्य प्रातिभं चक्षुरुन्मीलयति सारस्वतं ज्योतिः, येनायमखिलमपि भुवनतलं सिद्ध इव इदमिति इत्थमिति च करबदरसदृशमनुपश्यति । पश्यंश्चायमरोचकिष्वग्रगण्यो गणयति काव्यानुगुण्येन सगुणमगुणं वा तत्तद्वस्तुजातम्, गणयंश्च विमर्शशीलोऽयमात्मकाव्यमारोग्य समासेन व्यासेन वा अवर्णरहितं वर्णयति, वर्णयंश्च तन्महिम्ना भावुकानां प्रत्यक्षायमाणं भावनापथमुपनयति, उपनयंश्च रम्यतातिशयेन रञ्जयति रसिकमनांसि, रञ्जयंश्च सञ्जयति सहृदयान् विगलितवेद्यान्तरे विलुप्तविषयावभासे चिदानन्दैकघने शाश्वते रसब्रह्मणि । अयं च पर्वक्रमो नियतं मनसो विदूरः, इन्द्रियाणामसंनिकृष्टः, केवलमनुभवैकवेदनीयः, कया वाण्या कथ्यताम्, कतरेण प्रकारेण निरूप्यताम्, कतमेन प्रमाणेन वर्ण्यताम् ? तदत्र सर्वथास्माकमत्र कादम्बरीरसास्वाद एव परमं शरणम् । “कादम्बरीरसज्ञानामाहारोऽपि न रोचते” इति किल प्राचां प्रशंसनीयः प्रवादः ॥

अस्य च महाकवेः काव्यानि त्रीणि—चण्डीशतकम्, हर्षचरितम्, (पूर्व)कादम्बरी चेति । तत्र प्रथमं पद्यमयम् । तत्र हि महिषासुरमर्दनी चण्डिका शतेन पद्यानामुपश्लोक्यते ॥

तत्र च विषयानुसारेण रसानुरोधेन च आरभटी सात्त्वती च वृत्तिः, गौडीया पाञ्चाली च रीतिराद्रियमाणा दृश्यते । अस्माच्च शतकादुद्धृत्य बहूनि पद्यान्युदाहरद्भिः प्राग्भिरालंकारिकैरत्र महीयानादरः प्रदर्शितः । “पद्ये पटीयान् किल कालिदासो गद्ये पटीयान् किल भट्टबाणः । पद्ये च गद्ये च परं पटीयान् वत्सान्वयो वामनभट्टबाणः ॥” इति वामनबाणोक्तिस्तु दुरभिमानदुर्विलसितमिति विश्वसन्ति विपश्चितः, ये तावदेतच्चण्डीशतकं विमृशन्तो रोचयन्ते । “यादृग्गद्यविधौ बाणः” इति भोजराजोक्तिरपि न वामनबाणाभिप्रायमनुगृह्णातीति विशदं निरूपितमस्माभिः पार्वतीपरिणयनाटककर्तृत्वविमर्शग्रन्थे । आदित्यभक्तेन तत्प्रसादलम्भितारोग्येण सूर्यशतककर्त्रा मयूरमहाकविना स्वश्वशुरेण श्रीहर्षसभायां सर्वदा स्पर्धमानो देवीभक्तो बाणभट्टः, इदं शतकं प्रणिनायेति लोकवादः ।

“स चित्रवर्णविच्छित्तिशालिनोरवनीपतिः । श्रीहर्ष इव संघर्षं चक्रे बाणमयूरयोः ॥”
इति विलिखन् परिमलकालिदासोऽप्यमुमर्थं द्रढयतीव ॥

हर्षचरितं कादम्बरी च गद्यकाव्ये । कादम्बरी च “ज्ञास्यसि मरणेन प्रीतिमित्यसंभाव्यमेव” इत्येतदन्तैव भट्टबाणेन विरचिता, उत्तरा च कादम्बरी तत्सुतेन भूषणबाणेनेति सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नोऽयमंशः । अत्र च अश्लीलभाषितमापतितमिति, तत एव अपरिपूरयन्नेव लोकान्तरं गतोऽसौ महाभाग इति च वृद्धपरम्परा । मरणशय्यामधिशयानो भट्टबाणः, कादम्बरीपरिपूर्तिमात्मजाभ्यां कारयिष्यन्, तावाहूय कथाशेषमग्राहयत् । अथ तयोः सामर्थ्यं परीक्षितुमभिलष्यन्, पुरः स्थितं स्थाणुं तत्र स्थितं पन्नगं च प्रदर्श्य, एतं विषयमधिकृत्य वर्णयतम् इति तावब्रवीत् । वासनाशून्यः श्रोत्रियो ज्यायान् “शुष्को वृक्षस्तिष्ठत्यग्रे तिष्ठति सर्पः” इत्यतिप्रशिथिलं वाक्यं जग्रन्थ । कनीयांस्तु “नीरसतरुरिह निकटे तदुपरि निवसति कालभुजङ्गः” इति प्रवबन्ध । एतच्च श्रुत्वा मनोरथमात्मनः पूर्णमिव कलयन् बाणः, कनीयांसमाशीर्भिरभिनन्द्य प्राणान् विजहौ—इत्यस्ति किमप्यैतिह्यमद्यावधि सर्वतः प्रसृतम् । हर्षचरितमध्यपूर्णमेव, यतस्तत्र न निरूपितं हर्षवर्धनस्य उपरितनं व्यापि चरितमिति केचित् । परे त्वेवमाहुः—स्वस्य हर्षवर्धनदर्शनं यावदेव बाणभट्टेन हर्षवर्धनस्य चरितं वर्णयितुमभिलषितम् । तच्च निर्व्यूढमेव । अन्यथा कथमलसस्येव महाकावेरनायासनिर्वाह्ये एतत्समापने बुद्धिर्न प्रवर्तेत । कादम्बरी तु मरणेन महाकावेर्मध्ये विच्छिन्ना—इति ॥

महाशयाः ! एतद्गद्यकाव्यविमर्शतः प्राक् कमपि पीठिकाबन्धमवश्य-रचनीयं रचयामः । “ओजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम्” इति काव्यादर्शः । “गद्यं वृत्तगन्धि चूर्णमुत्कलिकाप्रायं च । पद्यभागवत् वृत्तगन्धि । अनाविद्धललितपदं चूर्णम् । विपरीतमुत्कलिकाप्रायम्” इति वामनकाव्यालंकारसूत्राणि । “अनाविद्धानि अदीर्घसमासानि ललितानि अनुद्धतानि पदानि यस्मिन् तत् अनाविद्धललितपदं चूर्णमिति, विपरीतम् आविद्धोद्धतपदम् उत्कलिकाप्रायम्” इति सूत्रयोर्वृत्तिः । “अत्यर्थमुकुमारार्थसंदर्भा कैशिकी मता । अत्युद्धतार्थसंदर्भा वृत्तिरारमटी स्मृता ॥ ईषन्मृद्वर्थसंदर्भा भारती वृत्तिरिष्यते । ईषत्प्रौढार्थसंदर्भा सात्त्वती वृत्तिरिष्यते ॥” इति, “बन्धपारुष्यरहिता शब्दकाठिन्यवर्जिता । नातिदीर्घसमासा च वैदर्भी रीतिरिष्यते ॥ ओजः कान्तिगुणोपेता गौडीया रीतिरिष्यते । पाञ्चालरीतिर्वैदर्भीगौडीरीत्युभयात्मिका ॥” इति, “या

पदानां परान्योन्यमैत्री शक्येति कथ्यते” इति, “अर्थगम्भीरिमा पाकः” इति च विद्यानाथः । रसानां सौकुमार्यादिकम्, गुणानां लक्षणानि चान्यत एवावगन्तव्यानि । “श्लेषप्रायमुदीच्येषु प्रतीच्येष्वर्थमात्रकम् । उत्प्रेक्षा दाक्षिणात्येषु गौडेष्वक्षरडम्बरः ॥” इति, “उत्कृष्टकविगद्यमिव विविधवर्णश्रेणिप्रतिपाद्यमानाभिन्नवार्थसंचयम्” इति बाणभट्टश्च स्वयमेवाह । तदेवं व्यवस्थितं काव्याङ्गतस्वमनुभवेन स्वयमवधारयन्, अखिलदेशीयानप्यभिज्ञजनानारिराधयिषुर्महाकविरयं तत्र तत्र वर्णनीयवस्त्वनुगुणां तत्तद्रसभावानुरूपां च वृत्तिमाद्रियते, रीतिमूरीकुरुते, शक्यां योजयति, पाकमाकलयति । रसवशेन कदाचिदात्मानमपि विस्मरतोऽस्य काचित्काचिद्दृश्यमानो विपर्यासोऽपि गच्छतः स्वलनमिव न दोषाय कल्पते । “मृदुकाव्यमिव अनन्यचिन्तितस्वभावावेदकम्” इति च स्वयमेव वदति । एष च विपर्ययो मलिनोऽपि कामिनीकपोलयोः कज्जलबिन्दुरिव विच्छित्तिविशेषमेव पुष्यति । ये नाम केचित्, आरभटीसमुचितेषु प्रौढेषु प्रघट्टकेषु अवतरितुमपारयन्तः स्वयमुत्प्रेक्षितेन पङ्क्तसङ्गेन, कासरा इव निर्मलमपि कासारमात्मावगाहनेन पूर्णमेव प्रबन्धमाविलयितुमभिलषन्ति, न ते माननीयाः । शोचनीयास्ते न सहृदयसमाजमर्हन्ति । “न खलु स्थाणोरयमपराधः, यदन्व एनं न पश्यति” इति किल भगवान् यास्कः । “कलकण्ठगणास्वाद्ये कामस्यास्त्रे निजाङ्कुरे । निम्बवृत्तिभिरुद्गीर्णे न चूतः परितप्यते ॥” इति श्रोवेङ्कटनाथः । द्वीपान्तरीयांश्चैताननुमोदमानाः, तेषां निर्णयाभासवचनं निगमसममभिमन्यमाना अस्मद्देशीया अप्यपरिपक्वबुद्धयः कतिपये, स्वयमप्यसंगीतकं नृत्यन्ति, अभिनयन्ति च बाला अपि विद्यावैशारद्ये वार्द्धकमित्यहो कालस्य कौटिल्यम् ; यत् अश्रुतचरं श्रावयति अदृष्टपूर्वं दर्शयति । तादृशाश्च क्रमशो हसन्तीति परमिदमाश्वासस्थानमस्मादृशाम् । वस्तुतो विमृश्यमाने, द्वीपान्तरीयाणां देवभाषाशिक्षणप्रकार एवात्र, मन्यामहे, नूनमपराध्यति । ते हि दैवीं वाचमुपासितुं प्रयतमानाः प्रायेण पञ्चतन्त्रमेव पठितुं प्रक्रमन्ते । तस्मिन् किल तेषाम् आम्नाय इव भारतीयानामतिमहान् बहुमानः । ते खलु तत्रत्यं व्यक्षरं व्यक्षरम्, अन्ततः पञ्चाक्षरं वा पदजालं भारत्याः प्रसादमूलमालोचयन्ति । तन्निबद्धं च प्रशिथिलबन्धं वाक्यजातमवहितेन चेतसा मुहुरावर्तयन्ति । विपाककटुकं च तदीयं रसमास्वादयन्तः परां निर्वृतिमधिगच्छन्ति । अक्षरद्वयमपि वा संयोज्य बहिः स्फुटमुच्चारयितुं प्रायशो न प्रभवन्ति । ईदृशाश्चैते, ईदृशा परिचयेन ईदृक्षेण च संस्कारेण “करिकलभकरमृदिततमालकिसलयामोदिनीं नखमुखलम्बेभकुम्भमुक्तमुक्ता-

फललुब्धैः शबरसेनापतिभिरभिहन्यमानकेसरिशतां प्रेताधिपनगरीमिव सदा संनिहितमृत्युभीषणां महिषाधिष्ठितां च” विन्ध्याटवीं कथं नाम निर्भीकाः प्रविशन्तु । कथं वा “दोलायितशृङ्गसङ्गिलोहशृङ्गलावलम्बमानघर्षरवघोरवघण्टया घटितकेसरिसटारुचिरचामरया च काञ्चनत्रिशूलिकया लिखितनभस्तलम् इतस्ततः पथिकपुरुषोपहारमार्गमिवालोकयन्तं महान्तं रक्तध्वजम्”, चण्डिका-यतनद्वारदेशाभिमुखप्रतिष्ठापितम् अध्यासितासिताञ्जनशिलावेदिकं शोणितलव-लोभलोलशिवाल्लिख्यमानलोहितलोचनं लोहमहिषम्, “संपिण्डितनीलगुग्गुलु-धूपधूमारुणीकृताभिश्च प्रचलन्तीभिर्गर्भगृहदीपिकालताभिः अङ्गुलीभिरिव महिषासुरशोणितलवलोहिनीभिः स्कन्धपीठकण्डूयनचालितत्रिशूलदण्डकृतापराधान् वनमहिषानिव तर्जयन्तीं चण्डिकां च निस्त्रासं निर्वर्णयन्तु । उद्वेगकरकतिपय-शब्दपूरितकर्णविवराश्चैते, “चमरीपङ्क्तिरियमनुगम्यताम्, उच्छृष्कमृगकरीषपांसु-ला त्वरिततरमध्यास्यतामियं वनस्थली, तरुशिखरमारुह्यताम्, आलोक्यतां दिगियम्, आकर्ष्यतामयं शब्दः, गृह्यतां धनुः, अवहितैः स्वीयताम्, विमुच्यन्तां श्वान इत्यन्योन्यमभिवदतो मृगयासक्तस्य महतो जनसमूहस्य क्षोभितकाननं मृगयाकोलाहलं” कथं वा शृण्वन्तु । परिचयानुरूपा हि परि-णतिर्भवति । “न हि शणसूत्रवानाभ्यासे त्रसरसूत्रवानवैचित्र्यलाभः” इति सत्यमाह काव्यालंकारसूत्रकारः ॥

एतदेवमालोच्यैव वयमपि, मध्यमानां बालानां च विद्यार्थिनामुपयोगाय, मध्यमं लघुं च कादम्बर्यां हर्षचरितस्य च संप्रहमकार्ष्मेति, अस्माभिः प्रकाशित-योर्देवभाषाचतुर्थपञ्चमप्रपाठकयोः कादम्बरीहर्षचरितप्रकरणान्यनुगुणान्याकलि-तानीति च प्राप्तावसरमिदं निवेदयामः ॥

“गद्यं कवीनां निकषं वदन्ति” इति प्राचामलंकारकृतां प्रवादः । अस्य च प्रवादस्य आशयविशेषो विशदं च विस्तृतं च वासवदत्ताभूमिकायामस्माभि-निरूपितस्तत एव सुज्ञानः । वर्णनीयवस्तूनि स्वरूपतः स्वभावतो गुणतश्चाविकलं वर्ण्यमानानि यथा सचेतसां प्रत्यक्षायमाणानि भवेयुः, तथा विधेया सूक्ष्मेक्षिका कविना इति, तदनुगुणवृत्तिरीतिविशिष्टानि च वाक्यानि निबन्धनीयानि इति च तस्य पिण्डितार्थः । भट्टवाणसूक्तिश्चास्मिन्निकषोपले निघृष्यमाणा, षोडशवर्णं सुवर्णं भवतीत्यत्र न खलु सचेतनः कोऽपि विपश्चिद्विप्रतिपत्स्यते ॥

अयं किल महाकविः, शूद्रकस्य तारापीडस्य पुष्पभूतेः हर्षवर्धनस्य च दैनंदिनं चरितं वर्णयन्, प्राचां भारतीयचरितानामहोरात्रकृत्यमावेदयति । तेषां

राज्ये मनोरथेन प्रजाभावे अस्माकमुदेति महदेव कुतूहलम् । शुकनासमुखेन च मन्त्रिणो राज्ञि बहुमानं भक्तिम्, तारापीडद्वारा च मन्त्रिणि राज्ञो विस्रम्भं प्रेमाणं च प्रदर्शयति । हर्षवर्धनजननी यशोवती, तद्भगिनी राज्यश्रीः, विलासवती, मनोरमा, महेश्वेता, कादम्बरी च पातिव्रत्यैकधनानां पुण्यवतीनामस्मद्देश-कुलपत्नीनां मातृकायमाणा विलसन्ति । “देवि, किमत्र क्रियतां दैवायत्ते वस्तुनि । न वयमनुग्राह्याः प्रायो देवतानाम् । अन्यस्मिन् जन्मनि न कृतमवदातं कर्म । जन्मान्तरकृतं हि कर्म फलमुपनयति पुरुषस्येहजन्मनि । न हि शक्यं दैवमन्यथाकर्तुमभियुक्तेनापि” इत्यादिभिः प्रियशतमधुराभिः शोकापनोदनपुणामिर्धर्मोपदेशगर्भाभिर्वाग्भिः तारापीडो न केवलमनपस्यतादुःखितां विलासवतीं परमन्यानपि दुःखामिहतान् जनानाश्चासयति । सूतिकागृहवर्णननिरीक्षणेन च अविच्छिन्ननारायणनामसहस्रपठनादयः प्राचीनाः केचिदाचारा अपि विदिता भवन्ति । क्रीडाव्यासङ्गविधातार्थं बहिर्नगरादनुसिप्रं चन्द्रापीडस्य त्रिदामान्दिरं कारयन् तारापीडः समुचितं कलाशालाकल्पनस्थलं निर्दिशतीव विधावताम् । आरूढविनयमपि चन्द्रापीडं विनीततरमिच्छन् शुकनासः, सुबहु विस्तृतमुपदिशन्, वित्तमदमत्तचित्तानां दुरात्मनां दुश्चेष्टितानि “दर्शनप्रदानमपि अनुग्रहं गणयन्ति, आज्ञामपि वरप्रदानं मन्यन्ते, स्पर्शमपि पावनमाकलयन्ति, न मानयन्ति मान्यान्, कुप्यन्ति हितवादिने । सर्वथा तमभिनन्दन्ति, तमालपन्ति, तं पार्श्वे कुर्वन्ति, तेन सह सुखमवतिष्ठन्ते, तस्मै ददति, तस्य वचनं शृण्वन्ति, तत्र वर्षन्ति, योऽहर्निशमनवरतमुपरचिताञ्जलिरधिदैवतमिव विगतान्यकर्तव्यः स्तौति, यो वा माहात्म्यमुद्गावयति” इति संगृह्यन्, तामिरमलामिरुपदेशवाग्भिश्चन्द्रापीडमिवास्मानपि प्रक्षालितानिव उन्मीलितानिव पवित्रीकृतानिव उद्भासितानिव सर्वात्मना करोति । दिग्विजययात्रायां चन्द्रापीडमनुगच्छतामस्माकम् “मणिदर्पण इव त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्म्याः, स्पटिकभूमिगृह इव वसुंधरादेव्याः, त्रिभुवनपुण्यराशाविव सरोरूपेणावस्थिते, असकृत्पितामहपरिपूरितकमण्डलुपरिपूतजले, बहुशः सलिलावतीर्णसावित्रीभग्नदेवतार्चनकमलसहस्रे अच्छोदेनाम सरासि स्नातुमतिमहती समुत्कण्ठा संजायते । “इदं खलु सरः, अमृतमिव सर्वेन्द्रियाह्लादनसमर्थम्—अतिविमलतया चक्षुषः प्रीतिमुपजनयति, शिशिरतया स्पर्शसुखमुपहरति, कमलसुगन्धितया घ्राणमाप्याययति, हंसमुखरतया श्रुतिमानन्दयति, स्वादुतया रसनामाह्लादयति” । शून्ये च सिद्धायतने भगवतस्त्यम्बकस्य दक्षिणां मूर्तिमाश्रित्याभिमुखमासीनाम्, श्वेतद्वीपलक्ष्मीमिव अन्यद्वीपावलोकन-

कुतूहलागताम् , धर्महृदयादिव निर्गताम् , सुमधुरया च गीत्या देवं विरूपाक्ष-
मुपवीणयन्तीम् , प्रत्यक्षामिव गन्धर्वविद्याम् , निर्ममां निरहंकारां निर्मत्सरां
प्रतिपन्नपाशुपतव्रतां महाश्वेतामवलोकयितुं कस्य वा मनः कुतूहलि न भवति ।
“विबुधसङ्घानि अप्सरसो नाम कन्यकाः सन्ति । तासां चतुर्दश कुलानि—
एकं कमलयेनेर्नमसः समुत्पन्नम् , अन्यद्वेदेभ्यः संभूतम् , अन्यदग्रेरुद्भूतम् ,
अन्यत् पवनात् प्रसूतम् , अन्यदमृतान्मथ्यमानादुत्थितम् , अन्यज्जलाज्जातम् ,
अन्यदर्ककिरणेभ्यो निर्गतम् , अन्यत् सोमरश्मिभ्यो निष्पतितम् , अन्यत् सौदाम-
नीभ्यः प्रवृत्तम् , अन्यन्मृत्युना निर्मितम् , अपरं मकरकेतुना समुत्पादितम्”
इत्यत्र पर्यायपदानि स्वैरमनायासं विसृजन्नात्मनः शब्दप्रपञ्चसर्गपाठवं प्रकटयति
महाकविः । “क्रमेण च कृतं मे वपुषि वसन्त इव मधुमासेन, मधुमास इव
नवपल्लवेन, नवपल्लव इव कुसुमेन, कुसुम इव मधुकरेण, मधुकर इव मदेन,
नवयौवनेन पदम्” इति महाश्वेतायैवनावतारम् , “अथ मुहूर्तादिव तं तस्य
रूपस्येव यौवनम् , यौवनस्येव मकरकेतनम् . मकरकेतनस्येव वसन्तसमयम् ,
वसन्तसमयस्येव दक्षिणानिलम् अनुरूपं सखायं मुनिकुमारकं कपिञ्जलनामान-
मपश्यम्” इति पुण्डरीकसुहृदं कपिञ्जलं च वर्णयता महाकविना निबद्धा-
मुपमां चिन्तयतां सचेतसां यत्सत्यमन्तरात्मा मुह्यतीव सुखसंभेदेन । “सखे
पुण्डरीक, नैतदनुरूपं भवतः । क्षुद्रजनक्षुण्ण एष मार्गः । धैर्यधना हि
साधवः । किं यः कश्चित् प्राकृत इव विह्वलीभवन्तमात्मानं न रुणत्सि ।
कुतस्तवापूर्वोऽयमद्येन्द्रियोपप्लवः, येनास्येवं विकृतः । क ते तद्वैर्यम् , कासा-
विन्द्रियजयः, क तद्वशित्वं चेतसः, क सा प्रशान्तिः, क कुलक्रमागतं ब्रह्म-
चर्यम् , क सा सर्वविषयनिरुत्सुकता, क ते गुरुरूपदेशाः, क तानि श्रुतानि, क
ता वैराग्यबुद्धयः, कासौ तपस्यभिनिवेशः, क तत् यौवनानुशासनम् । सर्वथा
निष्फला प्रज्ञा, निर्गुणो धर्मशास्त्राभ्यासः, निरर्थकः संस्कारः, निरुपकारको
गुरुरूपदेशविवेकः, निष्प्रयोजना प्रबुद्धता, निष्कारणं ज्ञानम् । यदत्र भवादृशा
अपि रागाभिषङ्गैः कलुषीक्रियन्ते, प्रमादैश्चाभिभूयन्ते” इति मदनपरवशं
पुण्डरीकमुपदिशन् , तमेव पुनरपि “सखे पुण्डरीक, सुविदितमेतन्मम । केवल-
मिदमेव पृच्छामि— यदेतदारब्धं भवता, किमिदं गुरुभिरुपदिष्टम् , उत धर्म-
शास्त्रेषु पठितम् , उत धर्मारज्जनोपायोऽयम् , उतापरस्तपसां प्रकारः, उत स्वर्ग-
गमनमार्गोऽयम् , उत व्रतरहस्यमिदम् , उत मोक्षप्राप्तिशुक्तिरियम् , आहोस्वि-
दन्यो नियमप्रकारः । कथमेतद्युक्तं भवतो मनसापि चिन्तयितुं किंपुनराख्यातु-

मीक्षितुं वा । मूढो हि मदनेनायास्यते । स खलु धर्मबुद्ध्या विषलतावनं
 सिञ्चति, कुवलयमालेति निखिंशलतामालिङ्गति, कृष्णागरुधूमलेखेति कृष्णसर्प-
 मवगूहते, रत्नमिति ज्वलन्तमङ्गारमभिस्पृशति, मूढो विषयोपभोगेष्वनिष्ठानु-
 बन्धिषु यः सुखबुद्धिमारोपयति । कोऽयमनङ्गो नाम, धैर्यमवलम्ब्य निर्भर्त्स्यता-
 मयं दुराचारः” इति प्रकटितप्रणयकोपमधिक्षिपन्, विगतजीविते च
 पुण्डरीके, “हा हतोऽस्मि, हा दग्धोऽस्मि, हा वञ्चितोऽस्मि । हा हा किमिद-
 मापतितम् । उत्सन्नोऽस्मि । दुरात्मन्, मदनपिशाच, पाप, किमिदमकृत्यमनुष्ठि-
 तम् । हा भगवन्, श्वेतकेतो, पुत्रवत्सल, न वेत्सि मुषितमात्मानम् । हा धर्म,
 निष्परिग्रहोऽसि; हा तपः, निराश्रयमसि; हा सरस्वति, विधवासि; हा सत्य,
 अनाथमसि; हा सुरलोक, शून्योऽसि । सखे प्रतिपालय माम् । अहमपि भवन्त-
 मनुयास्यामि । कथय, त्वदृते क्व गच्छामि, कं याचे, कं शरणमुपैमि,
 अन्धोऽस्मि संवृत्तः, शून्या मे दिशो जाताः, निरर्थकं जीवितम्, अप्रयोजनं
 तपः, निःसुखाश्च लोकाः । केन सह परिभ्रमामि, कमालपामि, उत्तिष्ठ, देहि मे
 प्रतिवचनम्” इत्येतानि चान्यानि च विलपन् कपिञ्जलः किमपि विशुद्धं
 सुहृत्प्रेमरहस्यमवबोधयति ॥

“नास्ति खल्वसाध्यं नाम भगवतो मनोभुवः । न हि किञ्चिदस्य
 दुर्घटं दुष्करमनायत्तमकर्तव्यं वा जगति । दुरूपपादेष्वप्यर्थेष्वयमवज्ञया विचरति ।
 का वा गणना सचेतनेषु । अपगतचेतनान्यपि संघटयितुमलम् । यद्यस्मै रोचते,
 कुमुदिन्यपि दिवसकरकरानुरागिणी भवति, कमलिन्यपि शशिकरद्वेषमुज्झति,
 निंशापि वासरेण सह मिश्रतामेति, ज्योत्स्नाप्यन्धकारमनुवर्तते, छायापि प्रदी-
 पाभिमुखमवतिष्ठते, तटिदपि जलदे स्थिरतां व्रजति, जरापि यौवनेन सहचारिणी
 भवति” इति, “अतनुरेष हुताशनः । अपक्राशयन् ज्वालावलीः संतापं
 जनयति, अप्रकटयन् धूमपटलमश्रु पातयति, अदर्शयन् भस्मरजोनिकरं पाण्डुता-
 माविर्भावयति । न च तद्भूतं भवति भविष्यति वा, यदस्य शरशरव्यतां न
 यातं याति यास्यति वा” इति, “सर्वथा दुर्लभं जगति यौवनमस्खलितम्”
 इति च सुदृढमुच्चैरुदघुष्यन् महाशयोऽयम्, कुसुमचापचापलेभ्यो निवारयति,
 जागरयति च दुर्ललितं युवलोकम् ॥

“हा हा किमिदमुपनतम् । हा अम्ब, हा सख्यः, हा नाथ, जीवित-
 निबन्धन, क्व मामेकाकिनीमशरणाम् अकरुण विमुच्य यासि । प्रसीद, सकृद-
 प्यालप, दर्शय भक्तवत्सलताम् । ईषदपि विलोकय । पूरय मे मनोरथम् ।

आर्तास्मि भक्तास्मि अनुरक्तास्ति अनाथास्मि बालास्मि अगतिकास्मि दुःखितास्मि
 अनन्यशरणास्मि मदनपरिभूतास्मि । किमिति न करोषि दयाम् । कथय —
 किमपराद्धम्, किं वा नानुष्ठितम्, कस्यां वा नाज्ञायामादृतम्, कस्मिन् वा
 त्वदनुकूले नाभिरतम् । किं वा मया वामया पापया, याहमद्यापि
 प्राणिमि । कथं न त्वं जातो न विनयो न बन्धुवर्गो न परलोकः । किं मे
 गृहेण किमम्बया किं तातेन किं बन्धुभिः किं परिजनेन । हा
 कमुपयामि शरणम् । अयि दैव दर्शय दयाम् । देहि दयितदक्षिणाम् । भगवति
 भवितव्यते, कुरु कृपाम् । पाहि वनितामनाथाम् । भगवत्यो वनदेवताः,
 प्रसीदत । प्रयच्छतास्य प्राणान् । अव वसुंधरे । सकललोकानुग्रहजननि
 रजनि, किमर्थं नानुकम्पसे । तात कैलास, शरणागतास्मि, दर्शय दयालुताम्”
 इत्येतानि च अन्यानि च व्याक्रोशन्तीं महाश्वेतामाश्वासयितुम्, तिष्ठतु तावद्दूरे
 चन्द्रमाः, वयं पुनर्विमुक्तविषयासङ्गमपि जाबालिमेव महामुनिमर्थयामः ; यः
 किल प्रवाहः करुणारसस्य, दिवसकरो मोहान्धकारस्य, प्रासादः प्रसादस्य,
 कोशस्तपसः ॥

“अम्ब, त्वमपि मां मन्दपुण्यं त्यजसि, प्रसीद, निवर्तस्व” इत्यभिधाय
 पादयोर्निपतन्तम्, स्तुतमिव सत्त्वेन, द्रुतमिव दुःखेन, आचान्तमिव चिन्तया,
 तुलितमिव तापेन, अङ्गीकृतमिव आतङ्केन”, प्रियपुत्रं हर्षवर्धनम्, “कुलकलत्र-
 मस्मि चारित्रधना धर्मधवले कुले जाता । वीरजा वीरजाया वीरजननी च
 मादृशी पराक्रमक्रीता कथमन्यथा कुर्यात् । मर्तुमविधयैव वाञ्छामि । मरणाच्च
 मे जीवितमेवास्मिन् समये साहसम्” इति सान्त्वयित्वा, जानकीमिव जातवेदसं
 पत्युः पुरः प्रविष्टां महाभागां यशोवतीमनुशोचन्नधिगतनिर्वेद इव महाशयो
 बाणः, महाश्वेताव्यतिकरे “यदेतदनुमरणं नाम, तदतिनिष्फलम् । अविद्वज्जना-
 चरित एष मार्गः, मोहविलसितमेतत्, अज्ञानपद्धतिरियम्, रमसाचरितमिदम्,
 क्षुद्रदृष्टिरेषा, अतिप्रमादोऽयम्, मौढ्यस्खलितमिदम्, यदुपरते पितरि भ्रातरि
 सुहृदि भर्तरि वा प्राणाः परित्यज्यन्ते । स्वयं चेन्न जहति, न परित्याज्याः ।
 प्रोन्मुचेतापि जीवितम्, संदिग्धोऽप्यस्य समागमो यदि स्यात् । अन्यामेव
 स्वकर्मफलपरिपाकोपनीतामसाववशो नीयते कर्मभूमिम् । असावप्यात्मघातिनः
 केवलमेनसा संयुज्यते । जीवंस्तु जलाञ्जलिदानादिना बहूपकरोत्युपरतस्यात्मनश्च ।
 मृतस्तु नोभयस्यापि” इत्येवंप्रायैः सोपपादनैः सनिदर्शनैः सकरुणैश्च वचनै-
 र्वलीयांसमनुमरणविषये स्वस्य विद्वेषं महता संरम्भेण विशदयति ॥

“राजपुत्र, रमणीयो हेमकूटः । चित्रा च चित्ररथराजधानी, बहुकुतूहलः किंपुरुषविषयः, पेशलो गन्धर्वलोकः, सरलहृदया महानुभावा च कादम्बरी । यदि नातिखेदकरमिव गमनं कलयसि, नावसीदति वा गुरु प्रयोजनम्, अदृष्ट-चरविषयकुतूहलि वा चेतः, अस्मद्वचनमनुरुध्यते वा भवान्, अप्रत्याख्यान-योग्यं वा जनमिमं मन्यसे, ततो नार्हसि निष्फलां कर्तुमभ्यर्थनामिमाम् । इतो मयैव सह गत्वा हेमकूटम्, दृष्ट्वा च मन्निर्विशेषां कादम्बरीम्, एकमहो विश्रम्य श्रोभूते प्रत्यागमिष्यसि” इति मधुरालापेन मानसमावर्जयन्तीं हेमकूटं प्रस्थितां महाश्वेतां सह चन्द्रापीडेन कुतूहलाक्रान्ता वयमप्यनुयास्यामः ॥

“मदलेखे, किमुच्यते । निपुणासि । उत्तरावकाशमपहरन्त्या कृतं वचसि कौशलम्” इति चन्द्रापीडेन प्रशस्यमानं मदलेखावचःकौशलं ये नाम जिज्ञासन्ते, तर्हि ते कादम्बरीमेव उपसर्पन्तु; तत्र गतानां च तेषां कालिन्धाः शारिकायाः परिहासस्य शुक्रस्य च प्रणयकोपोऽध्यास्वादनीयो भवतीत्यपरोऽपि लाभः संपत्स्यते ॥

ततश्च चण्डिकायतने “विस्फोटव्रणविन्दुभिः कल्माषितशरीरम्, जरां गतमपि दक्षिणापथाधिराज्यप्रार्थनाकदर्थितदुर्गम्, पट्टिकालिखितदुर्गा-स्तोत्रम्, जीर्णमहापाशुपतोपदेशलिखितमहाकालमतम्, दुर्गुहीतालाबुवीणा-वादनोद्वेजितपथिकपरिहृतम्, दिवसमेव मशककणितानुकारि किमपि कम्पितो-त्तमाङ्गं गायन्तम्, स्वदेशभाषानिवद्धभागीरथीभक्तिस्तोत्रनर्तकम्, निःसंस्कार-तया यत्किञ्चनकारिणम्, खञ्जतया मन्दं संचारिणम्, बधिरतया संज्ञाव्यव-हारिणम्, रात्र्यन्धतया दिवा विहारिणम्, लम्बोदरतया प्रभूताहारिणम्, अनेकशः फलपातनकुपितवानरनखोल्लेखच्छिद्रितनासापुटम्, कदाचिन्निवार्यमाणा-वासरुषिताध्वगारब्धबहुबाहुयुद्धपातभग्नपृष्ठकं जरद्द्रविडधार्मिकमवलोकयितुं क्रीडितुं च तेन बालका इव पामरा इव वयमप्युत्कण्ठिताः स्मः ; येन च दृष्टेन “अद्य परिसमाप्तम् ईक्षणयुगलस्य द्रष्टव्यदर्शनफलम्, आलोकितः खलु रमणी-यानामन्तः, दृष्ट आह्लादयीनामवधिः, वीक्षिता मनोहराणां सीमान्तलेखा, प्रत्यक्षी-कृता प्रीतिजननानां परिसमाप्तिः, विलोकिता दर्शनीयानामवसानभूमिः” इति सान्तर्हसिमात्मानं विनोदयिष्यामः ॥

अन्ततश्च, कादम्बर्याः सानुरोधं च सोपालम्भं च सनिर्वेदं च सामिमानं च साम्यर्थनं च “अतिप्रियोऽसि इति पौनरुक्त्यम्” इत्यादिकं वचनं चिन्त्यमानमपि महान्तमुपजनयति विषादमिति न वयं तस्मर्तुमपि प्रभवामः ॥

सहृदयाः, इतः परं हर्षचरितेऽपि ईषदिव दृष्टिं पातयामः । तत्र च प्रथममस्माकं बुद्धिमारोहति प्रीतिकूटनामा बाणाभिजनो ब्राह्मणाधिवासः ; यत्र निवासिनः स्वज्ञातयः, राजकुलात् प्रतिनिवृत्तेन बाणभट्टेन “कच्चिदेतावतो दिवसान् सुखिनो यूयम् । अप्रयूहा वा सम्यक्करणपरितोषितद्विजचक्रा क्रातवी क्रियते क्रिया । यथावदविकलमन्त्रभाञ्जि भुञ्जते वा हवींषि द्रुतभुजः । यथा-कालमधीयते वा वटवः । प्रतिदिनमविच्छिन्नो वा वेदाभ्यासः । कच्चित् स एव चिरन्तनो यज्ञविद्याकर्मण्यभियोगः । तान्येव वा व्याकरणे परस्परस्पर्धानुबन्धावन्ध्य-दिवसदर्शितादराणि व्याख्यानमण्डलानि । सैव वा पुरातनी परित्यक्तान्यकर्तव्या प्रमाणगोष्ठी । स एव वा मन्दीकृतेतरशास्त्ररसो मीमांसायामतिरसः । कच्चित् एव वाभिनवसुभाषितसुधावर्षिणः काव्यालापाः” इति प्रीयमाणेन मनसा परिपृच्छयन्ते । किमस्ति तादृशः सांप्रतमेकोऽपि ग्रामो भारते वर्षे भविष्यति वा, यः प्रीतिकूटस्य लेशेनाप्यनुकरिष्यति ॥

“असंस्कृतमतयोऽपि जालैव द्विजन्मानो माननीयाः” इति सरस्वत्या वचनेन, “दुर्विनीत, अस्ति ते दुर्विनयनिर्वाहबीजमिदं यज्ञोपवीतम्, यतो विस्रब्धमेवाचरसि चापलानि” इति उपसंहृतशस्त्रव्यापारस्य पुष्पभूते-र्वचसा च, पुरा जातिमात्रशरणानां ब्राह्मणब्रुवाणामप्यासीदादर इत्यवगम्यते ॥

धवलगृहे महता दाहज्वरेण “अनवरतपरिवर्तनैस्तरङ्गिणि शयनीये विचेष्टमानम्, गोचरीकृतं ग्लान्या, दष्टं दुःखासिकया, क्रोडीकृतं कालेन, पीतमिव पीडाभिः, निर्गीर्णमिव वैवर्ण्येन, आदित्सितं दैवेन, घ्रातमनित्यत्वेन, अभिभूयमानमभावेन, दत्तावकाशं क्लेशस्य, निवासं वैमनस्यस्य, समीपे कालस्य, अन्तिके अन्त्योच्छ्वासस्य, द्वारि दीर्घनिद्रायाः, जिह्वग्रे जीवितेशस्य वर्तमानम्, विरलं वाचि, चलितं चेतसि, विह्वलं वपुषि, क्षीणमायुषि, प्रचुरं प्रलपे, जितं जृम्भिकाभिः, अनुबद्धमनुबन्धिकाभिः, पाश्र्वोपविष्टया अनवरत-रोदनोच्छ्वन्ननयनया, मुहुर्मुहुः “आर्यपुत्र स्वपिषि” इति व्याहरन्त्या देव्या यशोवत्या शिरसि वक्षसि च स्पृश्यमानम्” प्रभाकरवर्धनं भावनया पश्यतः, काव्येन शृण्वतः, मनसा चिन्तयतो वा सचेतसः शोकाकुलं करुणाप्लुतं च हृदयं नियतमेव द्रुतं भवति ॥

प्रत्यप्रपितृमरणशोकविह्वलं च, “श्रियं शाप इति, महीं महापातक-मिति, राज्यं रोग इति, भोगान् भुजङ्गा इति, निलयं निरय इति, बन्धुं

बन्धनमिति, जीवितमयश इति, देहं द्रोह इति, कल्यतां कलङ्क इति, आयुर-
पुण्यफलमिति, आहारं विषमिति, विषममृतमिति, चन्दनं दहन इति, कामं
क्रकच इति, हृदयस्फोटनमभ्युदय इति मन्यमानम्” हर्षवर्धनं प्रकृतौ पर्यवस्थापयि-
तुम्, अबहुभाषी मन्दहासी सर्वोपकारी कुमारब्रह्मचारी अतितपस्वी महामनस्वी
विद्याधरतामुपगतो भैरेवाचार्योऽपि, विश्वसिमः, न पारयिष्यति । कापिलैर्जनै-
र्लोकायतिकैः काणादैरौपनिषदैर्धर्मशास्त्रिभिः पौराणिकैः साप्ततन्त्रैः शाब्दैः
पाञ्चरात्रिकैरन्यैश्च परिवृतः, जातसौगतशीलशीतलस्वभावैः शार्दूलैरप्यमांसाशिमि-
रुपास्यमानः, युवैव काषायाणि गृहीतवान् दिवाकरमित्रो भदन्तः शक्यति
वा न वेति परीक्षितुं नास्माकं मानसमुत्सहते ॥

मालवराजकुलप्रलयाय प्रस्थितो राज्यवर्धनः, स्वयमप्यनुजिगमिषुम्
“कमिव दोषं पश्यत्यार्यो ममानुगमनेन । यदि बाल इति, नितरां तर्हि न
त्याज्योऽस्मि । रक्षणीय इति भवद्भुजपञ्जरं रक्षास्थानम्, अशक्त इति क
परीक्षितोऽस्मि, संवर्धनीय इति वियोगस्तनूकरोति, अक्लेशसह इति स्त्रीपक्षे
निक्षिप्तोऽस्मि, सुखमनुभवत्विति त्वयैव सह तत्प्रयाति, महानध्वनः क्लेश
इति विरहोऽविषह्यतरः, प्रलवुपरिकरः प्रयामीति पादरजसि कोऽतिभारः,
द्वयोर्गमनमसाम्प्रतमिति मामनुगृहाण गमनाज्ञया, कातरो भ्रातृस्नेह इति सदृशो
दोषः । प्रसीदत्यार्यो नयतु मामपि” इत्यभिधाय पादयोः पतन्तं हर्षवर्धनमुपेक्ष्य
अपरिचित इव अस्निग्ध इव गत इति तस्य वयमुत्पश्यामो वज्रसारमयं हृदयम् ॥

“विभुरनभिमानः, द्विजातिरनेषणः, मुनिररोषणः, कपिरचपलः, कवि-
रमत्सरः, वणिगतस्करः, साधुरदरिद्रः, द्रविणवानखलः, सेवकः सुखी, परित्राट्
अबुभुक्षुः, अमात्यः सत्यवादी, राजसूनुरदुर्विनीतश्च जगति दुर्लभः” इति
वदतो हर्षवर्धनस्य लोकरहस्यज्ञतां वयमतितरामभिनन्दामः ॥

“देवी तु यशोवती विवाहोत्सवपर्याकुलहृदया, हृदयेन भर्तारि, कुतूहलेन
जामातरि, स्नेहेन दुहितरि, उपचारेण निमन्त्रितस्त्रीषु, आदेशेन परिजने,
शरीरेण संचरणे, चक्षुषा कृताकृतप्रत्यवेक्षणेषु, आनन्देन महोत्सवे, एकापि
विभक्तेवामवत्” इति यशोवतीं वर्णयन्, कुलाङ्गनानां कुटुम्बभरणमेव परमो
धर्म इत्यनुशास्ति कुलपालिकाजनं महाकविः ॥

प्रकृत्या अतिरोषणम् आत्मदोषमविज्ञाय, भगवतीं सरस्वतीं शतवन्तं
दुर्वाससम् “ब्रह्मन्, न खलु साधुसेवितोऽयं पन्थाः, येनासि प्रवृत्तः । निहन्त्येष

परस्तात् । कियद्दूरं चक्षुरीक्षते । विशुद्धया हि धिया पश्यन्ति कृतबुद्धयः सर्वा-
नर्थानसतः सतो वा । निसर्गविरोधिनी चेयं पयःपावकयोरिव धर्मक्रोधयोरेकत्र
वृत्तिः । आलोकमपहाय कथं तमसि निमज्जसि । क्षमा हि मूलं सर्वतपसाम् ।
अतिरोषणश्चक्षुष्मानप्यन्ध एव जनः । न हि कोपकलुषिता विमृशति मतिः
कर्तव्यमकर्तव्यं वा । कुपितस्य प्रथममन्धकारीभवति विद्या, ततो भ्रुकुटिः ।
आदौ इन्द्रियाणि रागः समास्कन्दति, चरमं चक्षुः । आरम्भे तपो गलति,
पश्चात् स्वेदसलिलम् । पूर्वम् अयशः स्फुरति, अनन्तरम् अधरः” इति
साधिक्षेपं शिक्षयतो भगवतः पितामहस्य उपदेशामृतमास्वादयन्तो वयमेकं क्षणं
वापि क्रोधदूरा इव कथं न भविष्यामः ; अथवा न बुभूषामः ॥

“अजम् अजरम् अमरगुरुम् असुरपुररिपुम् अचलदुहितृपतिम् अपरि-
मितगणपतिम् अखिलभुवनकृतचरणनतिं पशुपतिं प्रपन्नः, अन्यदेवता-
शून्यममन्यत त्रैलोक्यम्” इति पुष्पभूतिवर्णनव्याजेन नूनमात्मानमेव निर्दिशति
महाकविरिति विभावयामः । अत्र च क्रमेण परिवर्धितैरक्षरैः पदघटनम्,
निपुणस्य गायनस्य पल्लवविकासने क्रमशः स्वरवर्धनमिव, उत्तरङ्गयति
रसिकानामानन्दमन्तरङ्गे ॥

श्वेतकेतोस्त्रिभुवनसुन्दरं रूपमास्वादयन्त्या विकचपुण्डरीकोपविष्टाया
देव्या लक्ष्म्याः, रूपसंपन्ने दधीचे बद्धभावाया देव्याः सरस्वत्याश्च शीलभ्रंशो
निब्रध्यमानः, आस्तां नाम याथार्थ्यम्, संकोचयतीव चेतः सचेतसाम् ॥

विलासवतीं कादम्बरीं च सर्वमङ्गलमहीयसि महाभारते वाच्यमाने
दत्तावधानामुल्लिखन् भट्टबाणः, आत्मनः पञ्चमे वेदे महान्तं बहुमानमाविष्करोति ।
कादम्बर्यामगस्त्याश्रमवर्णनावसरे दाशरथेः कथामासूत्रयन्, श्रीमति रामा-
यणेऽप्यादरातिशयमभिदर्शयति ॥

राज्यश्रीपरिणयप्रकरणलिखितेन “अत्रान्तरे निर्वदनविकारं रुरोद वधूः ।
उदश्रुलोचनानां च बान्धववधूनामुदपादि महानाक्रन्दः” इति वाक्येन, विवाह-
काले कन्यायास्तद्वन्धूनां च साम्प्रतमभ्यनुभूयमानं किञ्चिदिव रुदितकम्,
चिरादनुवर्तमानः समुदाचार इति जानीमः ॥

“स्थित्वा च श्वशुरकुले आनन्दमयानि दश दिनानि” इति हर्षचारेते
भट्टबाणः । “एवं च चन्द्रापीडस्तत्र दशरात्रं स्थित्वा” इत्युत्तरकादम्बर्यवसाने

भूषणबाणः । एतौ च पितापुत्रौ “श्वशुरगृहनिवासः स्वर्गतुल्यो नराणाम्”
इत्याभाणकवञ्चितान्, श्वशुरगृहे चिराय वासं वाञ्छतो नव्यजामातृन् किमपि
श्वशुरकुलरहस्यमुपदिशत इव ॥

अस्य च प्रबन्धेषु प्रायेण सर्वेऽप्यलंकाराः साधु संयोजिता एव ।
अथापि, भूयसा, निरुपमा उपमा, प्रमोदप्रापकं रूपकम्, ऊर्जितेक्षा उत्प्रेक्षा,
बहुशाख उल्लेखः, प्राप्तकान्तिभ्रान्तिः, सरसपोषः श्लेषः, अनवरोधो विरोधः,
सुखनिक्षेप आक्षेपः, अदोषसक्तिरतिशयोक्तिः, अविगीतिर्जातिः, अतिभावुकं
भाविकं चेत्येत एव दृश्यन्ते ; येषां धारणेन सुदृशः शोभमानाः परैः परिहर-
णीया न भवन्ति ॥

अतिदुर्लभाः किल ते कवयः शास्त्रकारा वा, येषां जीवतामेव विपुला
विख्यातिर्विश्वतोमुखी भवति । “सर्वप्रबन्धानुगतस्तु मन्ये कर्तुः कवेर्जीवनमेव
दोषः” इत्यनुभवरसिकः श्रीनीलकण्ठः । धन्यजन्मा भट्टबाणस्तु जीवन्नेव परां
प्रख्यातिमुपगत इत्यवगम्यते । यतः कादम्बर्या राजकुलवर्णनावसरे “बलभद्रमिव
कादम्बरीरसविशेषवर्णनाकुलम्” इति विलिखति महाकविः । अत्र च कादम्बरी
कादम्बरीग्रन्थ एवेति सुस्पष्टं सुमेधसाम् ॥

दीपशिखाकालिदासः, छत्रभारविः, घण्टामाघः, तालरत्नाकरः, कर्णिक-
कारमङ्गलः” इतिवत् अयमपि महाकविः “तुरङ्गबाणः” इति व्यपदिश्यते ।

“पश्चादङ्घ्री प्रसार्य त्रिकनतिविततं द्राघयित्वाङ्गमुच्चै-

रासज्यामुग्रकण्ठो मुखमुरसि सटा धूलिधूम्रा विधूय ।

घासप्रासाभिलाषादनवरतचलप्रोथतु(ण्ड)दस्तुरङ्गो

मन्दं शब्दायमानो विलिखति शयनादुत्थितः क्षमां खुरेण ॥”

“कुर्वन्नामुग्रपृष्ठो मुखनिकटकटिः कन्धरामातिरर्श्नी

लोलेनाहन्यमानं तुहिनकणमुचा चञ्चता केसरेण ।

निद्राकण्डूकषायं कषति निबिडितश्रोत्रशुक्तिस्तुरङ्ग-

स्त्वङ्गत्पक्ष्माग्रलग्नप्रतनुबुसकणं कोणमक्षः खुरेण ॥”

इति हर्षचरितगताभ्यां स्वभावोक्तिरमणीयाभ्यां पद्याभ्यां चमत्कृतान्तःकरणैः
सहृदयैरिदं विरुदं प्रकाशितमिति कर्णाकर्णिका प्रवहति ॥

श्रीवादीभसिंहप्रभृतयः पञ्चषा अर्वाचीनाः, बाणभट्टमनुविधातुं प्रयतमानाः, गद्यचिन्तामणिप्रमुखाणि गद्यकाव्यानि निर्ममिरे । प्रायेण तेषां मनोरथो न संपूर्णः संवृत्तः । वेमभूपालचरितकर्ता वामनभट्टबाणस्तु, शब्दसौष्टवेन अर्थगौरवेण कल्पनाशिल्पेन च प्राचो भट्टबाणस्य कथंचित् संनिकर्षमर्हतीति सुवेदमेतद्विवेचन-शीलानाम् ॥

इदं चान्ततः साञ्जलिबन्धं साम्यर्थनं च निवेद्यते—यद्यस्ति कस्यचिद्देव-भाषायां प्रणयः, यदि मधुरपदरचने मनीषा, यदि च विकटतराक्षरप्रचुरसाटोप-वाक्यघटने वाञ्छा, यदि वा निरर्गलनिर्गलद्रसविसरभासुरमुपन्यासं सभायामवतारयितुमभिलाषः, तर्हि सोऽयं विरसशिथिलेषु विहाय प्राचामाधुनिकानां च वाक्येषु परिचयं विस्मभं च, परिशीलयतु हर्षचारितं कादम्बरीं च, मुखस्थीकरोतु च कतिचन प्रकरणान्येतयोः ; तदा नियतमेनमनुग्रहीष्यति सुप्रसन्ना देवी भगवती भारती, येनायं सकलकल्याणभाजनं भविष्यति, परां कोटिमानन्दस्य चाधिगमिष्यति ॥

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

KAVYAJIVITAVRTTI (MALAYALAM) 2 VOLUMES--BY SIROMANI
P. KRISHNAN NAYAR, JUNIOR LECTURER IN MALAYALAM,
Oriental Research Institute. Published by the University
of Madras. Pp. 890. Price Rs. 10.

Though the Malayāḷam literature, of late, has been making rapid progress in various branches, books on Literary criticism have been very few. The late Raja Raja Varma Koil Thampuran made a valuable contribution to this branch with his excellent book *Bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇam*. But few, that came after, carried on the survey indicated by him therein. In the two volumes under notice, Siromaṇi P. Krishnan Nayar has taken up that task and given a comprehensive treatise on the principles of literary criticism in Malayāḷam.

The introduction which adorns the first volume is an original and scholarly contribution extending to about 240 pages. It deals with the exposition of the established canons of literary criticism culled from eminent works in the various languages, such as, Sanskrit, Malayāḷam, English, Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu. The author notices the differences of opinion here and there about the important elements of literature among the ancient and the modern orientalists. The Eastern and the Western methods of approach to this subject and their differences are elaborately given in the *Prastāvanā*.

Besides, in the first volume, the author devotes two chapters on the *Śaiśavāsthā* (childhood) and the *Bālyāvasthā* (boyhood) of literature. The former deals with the definition of literature in general and its classifications. The definition of a word and a sentence, their respective divisions and their functions are considered. The latter is devoted to a treatment of the figures of speech such as *Anuprāsa*, *Yamaka*, etc. based on sounds (*śabdā-
laṅkāras*). The second Volume is styled the *Kaumārāvasthā* (youth) *prakaraṇa*. It deals with the explanation and illustration of the various figures of speech based on sense, (*Arthālaṅkāras*).

While tracing the development of literary criticism in Malayālam, the author refers to all books on this subject from Līlātilakam (14th century) to Sāhitya Bhūṣaṇam, a recent publication on this topic. He has not failed to examine how far all these books conform to the accepted principles and ideals of literature.

The work is the result of deep study and reveals a masterly handling of the subject. It contains the author's independent judgment in many places, which distinguishes the work from many others. The language used in these volumes is of course learned and technical, and though the ordinary average reader may not fully appreciate its worth, its usefulness and value to a scholar cannot be exaggerated.

T. S. BALASUBRAHMANYAN.



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